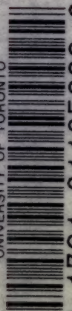


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AN OUTLINE OF
ENGLISH HISTORY

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
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W. E. Haigh

N.M.P.K.

1917

AN

ANALYTICAL OUTLINE OF ENGLISH HISTORY

BY

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THE TECHNICAL COLLEGE, HUDDERSFIELD

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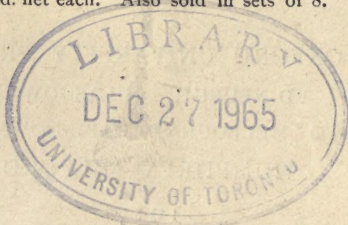
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PREFACE

'It is a favourite maxim of mine that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral. Some large conclusion ought to arise out of it; it ought to exhibit the general tendency of English affairs in such a way as to set us thinking about the future and divining the destiny which is reserved for us. The more so because the part played by our country in the world certainly does not grow less prominent as history advances.'

From 'The Expansion of England' (Lecture I), by SIR J. R. SEELEY.

THE present book is primarily intended for the use, in conjunction with fuller text-books, of students who are reading English history for examinations such as the Matriculation of the various Universities, the Oxford and Cambridge Locals, and the Civil Service; and also, in its main features, for those taking higher examinations of the standard of the Intermediate Arts of London University.

The central purpose of the book is to teach clearly the evolutionary character of English history. I have therefore attempted throughout to invest the salient facts of that history with *the interest of continuity*: to show the relation of historical events and conditions to each other rather than to give details showing their individual and separate importance. This seems to me, as a teacher of long experience, the surest and best way to 'engage' pupils in the pursuit of historical study.

The two principal means adopted for carrying out the

purpose of the book are those of *analysis* and *summarization*, which, besides serving that purpose mainly, should also help the young student to cultivate very desirable mental habits in his general reading.

(i) The **analytical** treatment of events is of two kinds—*evolutionary* and *chronological*. The former takes a bird's-eye view of the events of each large period as a whole along five main, and several subsidiary, lines of evolutionary development, and traces these through all the ten periods of the book; the latter examines in closer detail the events of the same periods in chapters, sections, and sub-sections, all with indicative headings which are linked together in chronological, logical, or other sequence. Both kinds of analysis are arranged throughout on *definite systems* which, if carefully and regularly utilized, will be found of great value: the chronological in aiding the understanding and memorizing of facts and dates, the evolutionary in revising—either for class or examination purposes—what has been acquired. The latter analysis is especially suggested to teachers, as an aid in developing their lectures and lessons in accordance with the very important resolution passed by the Historical Association at its annual meeting in January last (*vide* the Annual Report of the Association for 1916).

(ii) With regard to the method of **summarization**, the whole book indeed is a summary; but I would venture to direct attention especially to the summaries (1) of the characters and policies of all the sovereigns and the more important statesmen, (2) of the causes, results, and influences of every important movement and event, (3) of the chief features and importance of each reign, and (4) of the contemporary rulers, events, and developments on the Continent down to 1066. These last have been given to enable students

the better to realize what were the parallel beginnings of the modern European states outside England. They have not, however, been continued beyond 1066 owing to lack of space ; but all the subsequent points of contact of English with Continental history have been faithfully summarized and explained—those of modern times with increasing emphasis.

In conclusion I wish to record my obligation and thanks, firstly, to Mr. Philip Guedella for his valuable critical revision of the MS. of the book before it went to press ; and, secondly, to the Clarendon Press for much very helpful advice during the reading and revision of the proofs.

W. E. HAIGH.

*Technical College, Huddersfield,
July 1917.*



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INTRODUCTION

THE young student must from the beginning keep in mind the following observations, embodying very important principles which underlie not only the history of this country but also that of all other countries past and present.

The history of England is the story of its gradual evolution or development from a conjunction of *certain lands* in the north-west corner of Europe with *certain peoples and conditions* in the far-distant past. That is to say, the England of to-day is the outcome of a long-continued growth which had its beginnings in the times of neolithic man—if not earlier; and its present position is but the latest of a series of *stages* in a development which has been brought about by innumerable influences, external and internal, bearing upon it.

These evolutionary stages are in this volume defined in ten periods or books—though they may be also defined differently from other points of view. The events of each period group themselves into ‘Movements’ or phases of the national life. Further, they are, on the one hand, the *results* of causes which were themselves the results of causes operating in preceding periods; and they are, on the other hand, the *causes* of results which become themselves—in the same or another connexion—causes of results in succeeding periods. Thus every national phase—racial, economic and social, religious, political, and constitutional—can be traced backwards and forwards through the centuries of our history in lines of continuity, which are often tortuous, and sometimes obscure, but always there. Moreover, these five phases, as movements of development, can be seen to act and react upon each other—one now retarding, now advancing another, but on the whole advancing it—in each period successively, and with steadily increasing effect; until we finally see our country attaining its present-day dimensions and power as a world-wide empire ‘broad-based upon its people’s will’.

In the hope of helping the student to find and follow the lines of development above referred to, as he reads both the present book and larger histories, a very brief evolutionary analysis has been made of each of the ten periods into which English history may be divided, and it will be found at the respective beginnings of Books I to X (pp. 2, 8, 32, 64, 94, 117, 155, 202, 239, 282). It is only by some such aid that he can attain to the complete meaning and the right use of our national history: to the former, in observing the true effects of the interplay of the British character—alike in kings, statesmen, and people—and its conditions; and to the latter, in putting the lessons thereby learnt to the best advantage, each according to his opportunity, for the good of our common empire. Then will the future evolution of that empire be one, not of decay, but of all-embracing advancement.

BOOK I

BRITAIN BEFORE THE ENGLISH CONQUEST: TO A.D. 449

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK I

(For that of Book II see *postea*, pp. 8-9.)

Note.—The student is strongly advised to use this Analysis *constantly* with the main text. Where no reference pages are given, it is intended that he should consult larger text-books, as he should also do generally.

The evolution of our national history may be observed in *five phases of development*: (i) racial, (ii) economic and social, (iii) religious and ecclesiastical, (iv) political, (v) constitutional. In this first period we find the beginnings of *three* of these phases.

(i) THE RACIAL DEVELOPMENT—starting in the primitive Iberians and the later Goidelic and Brythonic Kelts, from all of whom descendants are still to be found in the western parts of these islands.

(ii) THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT—which has its commencement in the primitive agricultural, trading, and social systems of the Brythons (ch. I, pp. 3, 5), and which is advanced to a very considerable stage under the Roman occupation of South Britain (ch. II, pp. 5-7).

(iii) THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT—which begins with the Roman introduction of Christianity among the Kelts in the third century A.D., and spreads to Ireland in the fourth, thence to West Scotland in the fifth century (ch. II, p. 6).

CHAPTER I

PRE-KELTIC AND KELTIC BRITAIN

I. *The Earliest Inhabitants of Britain: Non-Aryans.*

- i. **The Palaeolithic Men, or Men of the Old Stone Age**—so called from the rough stone implements found with their remains in river-drifts and caves. No descendants of them survived into historic times.
- ii. **The Neolithic Men, or Men of the New Stone Age**—probably the first to inhabit Britain after it became an island. They are known also as **Iberians** or **Ivernians**. Their remains are found in *oval barrows* or burial mounds. Their descendants are probably the

Basques of the Pyrenees, and some of the people of W. Ireland, S. Wales, and N.W. Scotland.

II. *The Two Celtic Races of Britain.*

- i. **The Goidels or Gaels**—called also Men of the Bronze Age, from their use of bronze weapons and tools. They were the first *Aryan* race to reach Britain, but long before historic times. Their remains are found in *round barrows*.
- ii. **The later Kelts: the Brythons or Britons**—more skilled in civilized arts than the first Kelts. They were the second *Aryan* race to reach Britain, at some period before the fourth century B.C. The Goidels were driven westwards, there to fight or mingle with the Iberians.

III. *Britain in the first century B.C.*

- i. **Distribution of its Inhabitants**—at the time of the first Roman invasion under Julius Caesar, 55 B.C.
 - (1) **The Iberians and Celtic Goidels**—occupying Ireland, Scotland, Man, Wales, Cornwall, and Devon; the former more numerous towards the extreme west, the latter towards the east. (2) **The Celtic Britons**—from whom the name *Britannia* was applied by the Romans to all these islands—occupying the plains in the centre, south, and east of the largest island, and belonging to the same race as the *Gauls* of the Continent.
- ii. **The superiority of the Britons:** evidenced in their practice of—
 - (1) Agriculture and the storage of crops, (2) weaving of cloth for clothing, (3) trading across the narrow seas, (4) use of a coinage and pottery of their own manufacture, and (5) warfare in war-chariots.

Note.—The other inhabitants lived by fishing, or by hunting in the forests, marshes, and moorlands then covering these islands; and they wore skin garments.
- iii. **The Religion of the Britons:** *Druidism*, a system including the worship of many gods, also of trees and streams. The priests were soothsayers, teachers, and judges, and their sacrifices included human victims.

iv. **The chief tribes of Southern Britain (England and Wales):—**

- (1) *The Cantii*, living in Kent; (2) *Atrebates*, in the upper Thames basin; (3) *Trinobantes*, in Essex; (4) *Iceni*, in Norfolk and Suffolk; (5) *Catuvellauni*, in the lower Thames basin and Midlands; (6) *Brigantes*, on both slopes of the Pennines; (7) *Dumnonii*, in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset; (8) *Ordovices*, in North Wales; and (9) *Silures* and *Demetae* in South Wales.

IV. *The Romans and their First Invasions of Britain, 55 and 54 B.C.*

- i. **The Roman Commonwealth**—a powerful Italian republic, which, during 200–60 B.C., had conquered all the lands around the

Mediterranean, and then began to extend its conquests north of the Alps. *Gaul* was conquered 58-55 B.C., by **Julius Caesar**, and made a Roman province.

- ii. **Caesar's two invasions of Britain**—to punish the Britons for aiding the Gauls against him. (1) *His first expedition*, Aug. 55 B.C.—frustrated by storms. (2) *His successful second expedition*, July 54 B.C., with a much larger army. The southern Britons under **Cassivellaunus** were defeated near the modern **St. Albans**, and a tribute and promise of neutrality exacted. The island was then left undisturbed by the Romans till A.D. 43.
- iii. **Change in the government at Rome**: the *Roman Empire* established as a monarchy 27 B.C. by Octavius Caesar—great-nephew of Julius Caesar—with the title of *Augustus Caesar*.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN BRITAIN, A.D. 43-410

RULERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 27 B.C.—A.D. 476.

- (i) **FIRST PERIOD**, 27 B.C.—A.D. 180 : Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14), Claudius (41-54), Nero (54-68), Vespasian (70-9), Trajan (98-117), Hadrian (117-38), Antoninus Pius (138-61).
- (ii) **SECOND PERIOD**, 180-305 : Septimus Severus (193-211), Aurelian (270-5), Diocletian (285-305).
- (iii) **THIRD PERIOD**, 305-95 : Constantius (305-6), Constantine the Great (306-37), Julian the Apostate (361-3), Theodosius (379-95).
- (iv) **FOURTH PERIOD**, 395-476 (the Empire now in two parts, East and West):
 1. **Chief Emperors of the West (at Rome)**: Honorius (395-423), Romulus Augustulus (475-6).
 2. **Those of the East (at Constantinople)**: Arcadius (395-408), Zeno (474-91).
 3. **End of separate Western Empire at Rome, 476**. Thence to 800 the Emperors reigned at Constantinople, with nominal authority exercised by deputy-kings or consuls in Italy at Ravenna (see *next chapter*).

I. *The Roman Conquest of Britain*, A.D. 43-85.

- i. **The Third Roman Invasion begun under Aulus Plautius, 43-7**, sent by the Emperor Claudius. (1) In alliance with the Iceni, Plautius defeated **Caractacus**, A.D. 43, and in the same year captured **Camulodunum** (Colchester) in presence of Claudius himself. (2) Plautius was recalled, 47.

- ii. **The conquest continued under Ostorius Scapula, A.D. 47-52 :**
by whom Caractacus was defeated in the Severn valley, captured, and sent to Rome, 50.
- iii. **Under Suetonius Paullinus, 58-62 :** (1) the Midlands were subdued, Mona (Anglesey) was captured, and the Druid worship suppressed. (2) In 60 the Iceni revolted under queen **Boadicea**, but were suppressed, and all Britain south of the Humber was subjugated.
- iv. **The conquest completed by Julius Agricola, 78-85 :** by whom—
(1) All Britain up to the Firth of Forth was subdued ; and **Eboracum** (York) made the Roman capital of northern Britain. (2) In 82 **Agricola's Wall** was built from Forth to Clyde, and the Iberian and Goidelic tribes beyond were defeated at **Mons Graupius** (near Perth), 84.

Note.—After Agricola's recall, 85, no further conquests were made northwards.

II. *Britain as a Roman Frontier-Province, 85-285.*

- i. **Britain organized into a Roman province**—under an army of occupation by Agricola and subsequent governors.
- ii. **The Roman Walls**—to protect Roman Britain from the northern tribes :
(1) Agricola's Wall, 82 ; (2) Emperor Hadrian's Wall from Solway Firth to Tyne, 121 ; (3) Wall of Antoninus Pius, 139—Agricola's Wall repaired (known now as Graham's Dyke) ; (4) Hadrian's Wall strengthened, 211, by the Emperor Severus, who died the same year at York.
- iii. **Roman improvements in Britain.** 1. **Development of civilization, agriculture, and commerce**—(1) by the Britons adopting Roman customs, dress, speech, and pursuits (including systematic farming and mining) ; (2) by Roman merchants and others settling near the Roman camps ; (3) by the general adoption of Roman laws.
- 2. **Rise of Roman Towns**—around the military camps and elsewhere ; e.g. *Londinium* (London), the chief commercial centre, *Eboracum* (York), *Deva* (Chester), *Camulodunum* (Colchester), *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon-on-Usk), *Verulamium* (St. Albans), *Aquae Solis* (Bath), and many others.
- 3. **Roman Roads**—made for rapid transference of troops, and for commerce :
(1) *Watling Street*, from Dover to London, Chester, and the north ; (2) *Ickneild Way*, from London to Anglesey ; (3) *Fosse Way*, from Cornwall to Lincoln ; (4) *Ermine Street*, from Sussex to London, York, and the north.

III. *Events in Britain under the later Emperors, Diocletian to Theodosius, 285-395.*

- i. **Brief intervals of independence from Rome.** (1) Successful rebellion of **Carausius**, 287-94; (2) rebellion of **Allectus**, who murdered Carausius and ruled two years in Britain, till suppressed by Constantius, 296.

- ii. **The Emperors Constantius and Constantine the Great in Britain:**

- (1) Constantius made Emperor, 305, with his capital at York, where he died, 306.
- (2) His son Constantine made Emperor in Britain, 306, then at Rome, 323. He was the founder of Constantinople, and *first Emperor to adopt Christianity officially.*

- iii. **Christianity in Britain:** introduced probably from Gaul about 200.

- (1) *Alban* was martyred, 305, at Verulamium (later St. Albans). (2) At the Council of Arles held in Gaul, 314, several British bishops attended. (3) Christianity was spread by *St. Ninian* among the Picts of Galloway, 397-432. (4) The **Keltic Church** was founded by *St. Patrick* in Ireland, 432-60.

- iv. **Decline of the Roman Empire and Power in Europe after 350:**
due to—

- (1) internal corruption, tumults, and revolts, and (2) external attacks by barbarian tribes of *Teutons*—Franks, Goths, Vandals, Lombards—and others.

- v. **The invaders of Britain, and its defence.** 1. **Its invaders were—**

- (1) The so-called '*Saxons*'—Angles, Jutes, and Saxons—who attacked the south and east coasts; (2) the *Picts*—mixed tribes of Iberians and Gaels from north of Hadrian's Wall, and (3) the *Scots*—similar tribes from northern Ireland.

The Roman system of defence. Britain was divided for military purposes into two chief parts: (1) *Upper Britain* (i.e. north and west), under a military officer, called the Duke of the Britains, to guard against the Picts and Scots; and (2) *Lower Britain* (i.e. south and east), under the Count of the Saxon Shore, to guard against the Saxon pirates.

IV. *The End, and chief Results, of the Roman Occupation.*

- i. **The last years of Roman rule in Britain, 395-410.** While the '*Saxons*' were renewing their attacks on Britain, increasing inroads were also made over *all* the northern boundaries of the Empire by Teutonic and other barbarians. The capture and sack of Rome

in 410 by the Visigoths (or West Goths) caused all the Roman troops to be withdrawn from Britain to Gaul, leaving the island a prey to its various invaders. In 446 the Britons in despair sent a petition for help to Aetius, the Roman commander in the West, but it was rejected by him.

ii. Results of the Roman occupation of Britain :

- (1) Introduction of civilization into the island ; (2) development of the soil by clearing and tilling forest-lands and draining marshes ; (3) introduction of systematic farming : the growth of cereals, and the breeding of cattle and sheep ; (4) introduction of new kinds of trees and plants, and laying out of orchards and vineyards ; (5) development of mining, and of mineral wealth ; (6) building of towns, and founding of seaports ; (7) construction of good paved roads, some of which have formed the foundations of our modern highways.

iii. Remains of Roman Britain still extant : (1) Sections of roads ; (2) ruins of frontier walls, e.g. those of Hadrian and Antoninus ; (3) ruins of Roman camps, towns, buildings, baths, pottery, coins, &c. ; (4) traces of Roman mines in various parts ; (5) place-names containing the *affixes* *caer-*, *strat-*, *stret-* ; *-caster*, *-cester*, *-chester*, *-coln*, *-porr*, &c.

BOOK II

EARLY ENGLAND: ITS PERIOD OF UNIFICATION, 449-1042

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK II

(Refer *antea*, p. 2.)

In this period the first phases of development (*antea*, p. 2) are greatly influenced by two Teutonic invasions: (a) the overwhelming influx of English tribes into south Britain, which quite submerged them for a time, and (b) the later invasion of Northmen, which had a similar influence, though in a much less degree. But with the settlement of the English on the land the three early developments are renewed, while the other two (the political and the constitutional) are begun. Thenceforward all five phases can be traced continuously, but in many ramifications or branches, down to the present day.

(i) THE RACIAL DEVELOPMENT—in two lines or branches.

1. **The Ibero-Keltic line**—submerged in south Britain by the English invasions 449-600 (ch. I, pp. 11-12), but continued in Wales, north Britain, and Ireland, and sporadically reappearing in the later England (ch. II, pp. 15, 16, 19; ch. III, p. 25).

2. **The Teutonic-English line**—begun with the settlement of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in south Britain, and growing to form the chief racial stock in England, but with graftings of (a) Brythonic Kelts in the west (ch. II, p. 16), and (b) of Teutonic Danes in the east (ch. II, pp. 18-19; chs. III and IV).

(ii) THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT—in several ramifications.

1. **The land**—settled on by the various English tribes, simple farming begun, and *tuns* and *burhs* founded, often near sites of old Roman and Keltic towns and camps. Social life thus begun, and the way prepared for political and constitutional developments.

2. **Society.** (1) Rise of a noble class from the King's thegns or attendants, to whom were granted lands. (2) Growth of two lower classes among the people—the freemen and the serfs. From the former sprang the trader who initiated

3. **Commerce:** for the early stages of which see ch. II, p. 17; ch. III, p. 24; ch. IV, p. 30.

4. **Anglo-Saxon Feudalism**—which grew up during the tenth century in the territorial aggrandizement of the nobles out of the folk-lands (p. 26). It extended rapidly under weak kings (pp. 27, 30), but was temporarily checked by Cnut (pp. 29, 31). See also under (v).

5. Learning and Literature—which first appeared in Northumbria under the influence of monastic Christianity (p. 17); and later in Wessex through the encouragement of Alfred the Great (p. 24).

(iii) **THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT**—first in two branches, then in union.

1. **The Roman Church**, reintroduced into south Britain (p. 13).

2. **The Keltic Church**, extended from S.W. Scotland into Northumbria (p. 16).

3. **The two Churches in England united** (p. 16), and the Anglo-Saxon Church thenceforward under papal control more or less (ch. II, pp. 17, 21; ch. III, pp. 24, 26; ch. IV, pp. 29, 30).

(iv) **THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**—in three lines.

1. Establishment of seven kingdoms in England (pp. 11-12), and rise to dominancy of three (p. 13).

2. Gradual unification of England into a monarchical state under the West Saxon kings (ch. II, pp. 19-21; ch. III) and the Danish kings (ch. IV).

3. Beginning of relations with continental states (ch. I, pp. 13-14; ch. II, pp. 16, 17, 19; ch. III, pp. 24, 25; ch. IV, pp. 28, 29, 30).

(v) **THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT**—on the basis of the Teutonic institutions and customs which the English brought with them from the Continent.

1. **Early developments:** (1) Growth of townships, hundreds, and shires in the various petty kingdoms. (2) Rise in these of town-moots, hundred-moots, and shire-moots, and of officials over them (e.g. reeves, sheriffs, aldermen, and bishops). (3) Growth of various ranks and classes in the different kingdoms—thegns or nobles, freemen, traders, and serfs—dominated by the nobility, but knit together by social customs which became *common-law*. (4) Rise of *witena-gemots*, or assemblies of wise men, in the various kingdoms, as advisory bodies to the kings in law-making and governing. (5) Rise of local military systems—the *fyrds* of the various kingdoms—out of the fighting hosts which settled with their leaders on the conquered lands.

2. **Rise of a Witena-gemot for all England** (chs. III and IV), and, simultaneously, growth of Anglo-Saxon feudalism (see *above* under (ii)).

Note.—For these and other early constitutional developments consult further text-books.

3. **Growth of an English system of defence.** (1) The *national fyrd*, which grew out of the various *local fyrds*, but which did not acquire very durable cohesion until the eleventh century, and had therefore often to be supplemented by the personal retainers of the nobles. (2) A *navy* first organized under Alfred against the Danes (p. 23), but not a permanent part of the national defence till much later times.

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF BRITAIN, 449-600 CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RULERS AND EVENTS.

- (i) EASTERN CONTINUATION OF EMPIRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE AFTER 476
(*antea*, p. 4).
 1. *Chief Emperors in the East*: Zeno (474-91), Justinian, also at Rome (527-65), Heraclius (610-41), Constantine V (741-75).
 2. *Rulers in Italy*: Odoacer the Herulian (476-93), Theodoric the Ostrogoth (493-526). Sway of the Teutonic Lombards in Italy 568-774, begun by Alboin (568-72).
- (ii) BEGINNING OF THE PAPACY AT ROME DURING FIFTH CENTURY—by the Bishops of Rome claiming, as successors of St. Peter, superiority over all other bishops of the Church. Great increase in their power after 476, until at length Gregory I, the Great (590-604), was generally recognized as *the Pope*, or chief bishop of all the Western Church.
- (iii) SPREAD AND SETTLEMENT OF TEUTONIC TRIBES OVER WESTERN EUROPE, FIFTH CENTURY.
 1. *The Franks*, the most powerful, founded several states from Loire to Rhine under various kings, of whom the best known was Chlodwig or Chlovis (481-511). His successors were the Merovingian Frankish kings (511-687).
 2. *The English tribes* conquered southern Britain, 410-600.
 3. *The Lombards* swayed Italy 568-774 (see *above*).
 4. *The Visigoths* founded a kingdom, 414, over Aquitaine and Spain, which lasted till 713. Then overthrown by the *Saracen Arabs* from N. Africa, who held nearly all Spain 713-1491.
 5. *The Burgundians* settled in S.E. Gaul and the Rhone valley.
 6. *The Vandals* spread (through Spain) over N. Africa and S. Italy, holding sway in the former (650-709), till conquered by the Saracen Arabs.

A. SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH IN BRITAIN, 449-600.

I. *The English and their Conquest of Southern Britain.*

- i. **Who the English were**: four Teutonic tribes—Jutes, Saxons, Angles, Frisians—originally dwelling in the low countries on the south-eastern shores of the North Sea, though the exact localities of each are uncertain. The words *English* and *England* originated from the name of the *Angles*, the first of the four tribes to have a literature of its own (in Northumbria).

ii. **The English and the Roman conquests of Britain compared :**

1. *The Roman Conquest* : (1) was an organized effort supported by well-disciplined troops and the resources of the most powerful empire in the world ; (2) was completed in less than fifty years ; and (3) brought in its train good laws, order, and Christian civilization.
2. *The English conquest* which followed : (1) was an unorganized effort by predatory barbaric tribes led by various *independent* leaders, whose followers were both ill-disciplined and ill-equipped ; (2) took over two centuries to complete ; and (3) brought on a period of lawlessness, confusion, and heathendom.

II. *The Settlement of the Jutes in Kent, 449-616.*

- i. **The kingdom of Kent founded by Hengest and Horsa** : who, landing at **Ebbsfleet** (I. of Thanet) 449, defeated Vortigern and the Britons at **Aylesford**. Hengest became first King of Kent (473-489 ?), with his capital at *Canterbury*.

ii. **Ethelbert, the greatest King of Kent, 550 ?-616.**

1. In 568 he was defeated by the West Saxons at **Wimbleton** ; but by 590 was recognized as *Bretwalda*, or chief ruler, by the kings of East Anglia, Essex, and Sussex.
2. In 575 he married Bertha, the Christian daughter of the King of Paris.
3. In 597 Pope Gregory the Great sent **Augustine and his monks** to Kent, and they converted Ethelbert and many of his subjects to Christianity.
4. Ethelbert was *the first king in England to form a code of laws*. He died 616.

Note.—His son, **Edwald**, reigned 616-40, after which Kent became permanently subordinate—first to Mercia, then to Wessex.

III. *The Saxon settlements in Sussex, Wessex, and Essex, 477-600.*

- i. **The Kingdom of Sussex founded by South Saxons under Ella, 477**, who became its first king (477-517), with his capital at **Chichester**.

Note.—After 517 Sussex was always subordinate in turn to Kent, Mercia, and Wessex, and was finally absorbed by Cadwalla of Wessex, 685.

- ii. **The Kingdom of Wessex founded by West Saxons under Cerdic, 495.**

1. **Cerdic, the first King of Wessex (519-34)**, with his capital at *Winchester*. He was defeated at **Mons Badon** (Dorset) 520, by the British **King Arthur**, and the West Saxon advance checked for many years.

2. **Ceawlin**, grandson of **Cerdic**, the third king (560-91). He defeated **Ethelbert** of Kent 568; and the Britons twice—at **Bedford** 571, and at **Deorham** near Bath, 577, the last resulting in the separation of the Britons of Cornwall and Devon from those of Wales. Later he extended Wessex to the Severn valley, but was defeated at **Fethan-lea** (Cheshire), 584, by the Britons. [Concerning West Saxon history see further *postea*, p. 18.]

- iii. **The Kingdom of Essex founded by East Saxons about 520**—under various leaders, **Escewine** being the first king (527-?), with his capital at *London*. Other kings were **Sebert** (587-616) and **Sigebert the Good** (653-60).

Note.—After 660 Essex was always subordinate—first to Mercia, then to Wessex.

IV. *The Anglian settlements in East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia, 530-600.*

- i. **The Kingdom of East Anglia founded about 530**, by the Northfolk and Southfolk. **Uffa** was the first king (571-8), with his capital at *Norwich*. Other kings were: **Redwald**, the greatest of East Anglian kings (593-617); **Sigebert the Learned** (631-5); **Anna** (635-54).

Note.—After 654 East Anglia was always subordinate—to Mercia, Northumbria, or Wessex.

- ii. **The Kingdom of Northumbria founded by North Angles in two parts.**

1. **Bernicia** (from Tees to Forth), with **Ida** as its first king (547-60), and its capital at *Bamborough*.

2. **Deira** (from Humber to Tees), with **Iffa** as its first king (550-60), and its capital at *York*. Iffa's son **Ella** reigned 560-88.

Note.—**Ethelric of Bernicia** became first king of **Northumbria** (588-93) by annexing Deira, and exiling Ella's son Edwin. [Concerning Northumbria see *postea*, p. 15.]

- iii. **The Kingdom of Mercia founded by Middle Angles and Frisians, 550-60.**

Cridda or **Creoda** was the first king of Mercia (i. e. the kingdom next the *marches* or borders of the West Britons), with his capital at *Lichfield*. Cridda died about 600. [Concerning Mercia see further *postea*, p. 17.]

V. *The Divisions of Britain at end of Sixth Century.*

- i. **The Teutonic portion**—which extended from the east coast to the Severn, and from the English Channel to the Forth, and was occupied by seven Teutonic kingdoms: *Kent* (Jutes); *Sussex*, *Wessex*, *Essex* (Saxons); *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia* (Angles).

Note.—The period of the rule of these seven kingdoms is often called the *Heptarchy*. They were not all independent for long. *The four minor kingdoms* of Sussex, Essex, Kent, and East Anglia—owing to the physical restrictions of their position, and to the inferiority of their kings—soon became subordinate to one or other of the rest, among whom the struggle for supremacy went on for 250 years (*postea*, pp. 14–21).

- ii. **The British or Welsh portion**, which included: (1) *Strathclyde*, west of the Pennines, reaching from the Mersey to the Clyde; (2) the *kingdoms of Loidis* (= Leeds) and *Elmete*, east of the Pennines, comprising nearly all the West Riding of Yorkshire; (3) *Cambria*, i. e. North Wales; (4) *Dumnonia*, i. e. Cornwall and Devon.

Note.—All the Kelts had allied themselves in the *Confederacy of the Cymri* (= Comrades) for protection against the common Teutonic foe. The complete conquest of the Cymri took over another century.

- iii. **The Gaelic portion**—held by the Picts, and comprising all the island north of the Clyde and Forth.

B. THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO ENGLAND, 597–661.

I. Causes leading to the Introduction.

1. The missionary zeal of Gregory the Great (Pope at Rome 590–604).
2. The hope of the Pope and the Church at Rome that, by the conversion of England, they would soon gain control over the rival Celtic Church in Ireland.
3. The marriage of Ethelbert of Kent to a Christian wife (see *above*).

II. Circumstances of the Introduction into the Seven Kingdoms.

- i. **Into Kent 597**, by **Augustine** and his missionaries from Rome.
- ii. **Into the three other minor kingdoms.**
 1. **Into Essex, 604**—by **Mellitus**, who became first bishop of London. It was reintroduced, after a lapse, by Sigebert the Good, 654.
 2. **Into East Anglia, 604**—at the instance of King Ethelbert of Kent. It was reintroduced, 631, by King Sigebert the Learned and **Felix**, a Burgundian missionary, who became bishop of Dunwich.
 3. **Into Sussex, 661**—at the instance of King Wulfhere of Mercia. The *people*, however, were not converted till 682: by **Wilfred of York**, while he was in exile among them.
- iii. **Into Northumbria, 627**—by **Paullinus**, the Roman missionary, following King Edwin's marriage (*postea*, p. 16). *The Celtic form of Christianity* was introduced by **Aidan** and King Oswy, 635. *The two branches of the Church were united under Rome by Oswy at the Synod of Whitby, 664* (*postea*, p. 16).
- iv. **Into Wessex, 635**—by the Roman missionary **Birinus**, sent by the Emperor Honorius.

- v. **Into Mercia, 656**—from Northumbria by **Chad**, who became first bishop of Lichfield.

III. *Some Results of the establishment of Christianity in England.*

1. England permanently linked on to the civilizing life of Europe, sharing in its religious, social, and political progress.
2. The English made more humane in their wars with the Welsh—as shown by their substituting a policy of *subjugation* for the former one of extirpation.
3. The acquisition by the English, through Northumbria, of a European fame for learning and literature.

ADDITIONAL NOTE: THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCOTTISH KINGDOM.

During A. D. 495-500 a number of *Keltic Scots* from northern *Ireland*, led by Fergus Mac Erc, settled in western Caledonia among the Picts, and gradually established a Keltic-Scottish kingdom extending from the Clyde northwards. In 565 their king Conal, already a Christian, established the Keltic monk *Columba* from Ireland in *Iona*. Thence a branch of the Keltic Church of St. Patrick was founded among the Picts of eastern and southern Caledonia, and also among the English of Northumbria (*postea*, p. 16). In the ninth century the Picts and Scots became united into one kingdom under *Kenneth Mac Alpin* (a descendant of Fergus Mac Erc), who reigned 843-60. Under Kenneth's descendants the united peoples became known as *Scots*, and their kingdom as **Scotland**.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY AMONG THE THREE GREATER KINGDOMS, 600-858

CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RULERS AND EVENTS (*antea*, p. 10).

(i) ASCENDENCY OF THE FRANKS IN EUROPE.

1. **Usurpation of the Merovingian Kings' power** by their East-Frankish 'Mayors of the Palace', viz. Pepin of Herstatt (687-714), Charles Martel (714-41), and Pepin the Short (741-68), the last-named becoming king of the Franks in 753.
 2. **Charles the Great, 771-814**, son of Pepin the Short (an East-Frank or German).
- (1) His conquest of the *Saxons* of central Germany (772-82), the *Lombards* of north Italy (774), northern Spain (778), and Bavaria (785).

(2) His foundation of the *marks* or *border-duchies* of Carinthia, Austria, and Bohemia. His capital at *Aachen*.

(3) **His foundation of the Teuto-Roman Empire, 800.** (a) Rejection by the Papacy at Rome of the authority of the eastern Emperors at Constantinople, 800. (b) Coronation of Charles the Great as *Emperor of the West* by Pope Leo III, 800; and consequent renewal of the Roman Empire under Teutonic sway in alliance with the Papacy.

Note.—The Eastern or Byzantine Empire continued at Constantinople until its overthrow by the Turks in 1453.

3. **The Frankish or Carolingian Emperors (Charles and his descendants) were—**

Charles the Great (800–14), Lewis the Pious (814–40), Lothar (843–55, see below), Lewis II, the German (855–75, see below), Charles II, the Bald (876–81), Charles III, the Fat (881–8), Arnulf (896–9).

(ii) **BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOMS OF GERMANY AND FRANCE, 843.**
1. Division of Charles the Great's empire by his three grandsons in the *Treaty of Verdun*, 843:

(1) *Lothar*, as Emperor, received *Lotharingia*, a long, narrow territory, reaching from the North Sea to Italy. (2) *Charles the Bald* received *West Francia*, the territory west of Lotharingia. (3) *Lewis the German*, *East Francia*, the territory east of Lotharingia.

2. *West Francia* was the foundation of the *French* kingdom, and *East Francia* of the *German* kingdom. *Lotharingia* soon broke up into *Burgundy*, *Lorraine*, and *Italy*.

A. THE SUPREMACY OF NORTHUMBRIA, 593–716.

I. *Northumbria under Ethelfrith (son of Ethelric), 593–617 (antea, p. 12).*

i. **Ethelfrith's victories over the Welsh:** (1) at **Daegsastan** (near Jedburgh), 603, where he overthrew the league of Strathclyde Welsh, Picts and Scots; (2) at **Chester**, 613, where he cut off the Strathclyde Welsh from those of Wales.

ii. **His death at Retford, 617**—in battle with his nephew Edwin and Redwald of East Anglia.

II. *Under Edwin of Deira, 617–33 (antea, p. 12).*

i. **Edwin's conquests and his greatness.** (1) He subjugated the only remaining Keltic kingdoms east of the Pennines—Loidis and Elmete. (2) He founded **Edwinesburh** (Edinburgh) to guard his northern border from the Picts. (3) He conquered the two Keltic isles—Man and Anglesey (*Angles-isle*). (4) Thenceforward, he became *overlord* of Mercia, East Anglia, and Kent, and was recognized as *fifth Bretwalda*.

ii. **Adoption of Christianity by Edwin and his Witenagemot,** 627

—through the influence of his wife (daughter of Ethelbert of Kent), and the missionary Paullinus.

- iii. **His struggles against the old religion, and his fall.** In his later years revolts in favour of the heathen worship occurred in East Anglia, Essex, and Northumbria. He was also attacked by Penda of Mercia, champion of the old faith. In 633 he was defeated and slain at **Heathfield** (near Doncaster) by Penda and Cadwallon of Wales. Paullinus then fled southwards.

III. *Under Oswald (nephew of Edwin), 633-42.*

- i. **The power of Oswald**—established by defeating the Keltic king Cadwallon at **Heavenfield** (near the Tyne), 635, and subjugating Wessex the same year.
- ii. **His adoption of Keltic Christianity, 635.** At Lindisfarne (Holy I.) he established Aidan and his missionaries from Iona—where he had lived in exile—and thence that form of Christianity spread rapidly over Northumbria. Oswald was defeated and slain by Penda at **Maserfield** (near Oswestry), 642.

IV. *Under Oswy (brother of Oswald), 642-70.*

- i. **Oswy's victory over Penda, 655**—at **Winwidfield** (near Leeds), Penda being slain.
- ii. **His subjugation of Mercia, 655**—followed by the introduction of Christianity there by the Keltic missionary **Chad**. In 659 Mercian independence was regained by Wulfhere, Penda's nephew.
- iii. **Establishment of a united Christian Church in England, 664-90.**

In the **Synod of Whitby, 664**, assembled by Oswy, the Keltic and Roman branches of the Church became united under Rome; and the whole English Church was then reorganized under **Theodore of Tarsus**, Archbishop of Canterbury (668-90). Oswy died 670, and was succeeded by his son Egfrith.

V. *Decline of Northumbria after Oswy's time.*

- i. **Egfrith overthrown and slain at Nectansmere-on-Tay, 685**, by the Picts—who then, together with the Scots, Strathclyde Welsh and others, gradually recovered their independence.
- ii. **Chief causes of the decline of Northumbria:** (1) The defeat at Nectansmere, and the subsequent sedition and anarchy for a hundred years under a succession of fourteen weak kings. (2) The invasions and plunderings of the **Danes** after 787, when the Northumbrians, in common with the other English peoples, had become inland dwellers and farmers instead of sea-farers. (3) The attacks on Northumbria during its period of anarchy, first by Mercia, then by Wessex.

- iii. **The learned men of Northumbria**—after the Keltic Church had established its monastic seats of learning and literature: **Colman**, the successor of Aidan; **Cuthbert**, ‘the apostle to the Lowlands’; **Chad**, the missionary to Mercia; **Caedmon the poet** of Whitby (died *circa* 680); **Benedict Biscop** (died 699); the **Venerable Bede** (675–735); **Alcuin of York** (735–804), friend of Charles the Great.

B. THE SUPREMACY OF MERCIA, 716–825.

I. *The consolidation of Mercia under Penda and Wulfhere, 625–75.*

- i. **Reign of Penda, 625–55**: the first important Mercian king, and the champion of the old heathen religion. (1) He overthrew the West Saxons at **Girencester**, 628, and conquered the Severn valley. (2) In alliance with Cadwallon of Wales he overthrew Edwin of Northumbria at **Heathfield**, 633 (*antea*, A. II). (3) In 634 he conquered East Anglia, and suppressed Christianity there. (4) In 642 at **Maserfield** he defeated Oswald, and then ravaged Northumbria (*antea*, A. III). (5) Later, he conquered Wessex from Cenwealh. (6) In 655 he invaded Northumbria, but was slain at **Winwidfield** by Oswy (*antea*, A. IV).
- ii. **Reign of Wulfhere (nephew of Penda), 659–75**. (1) In 659 Wulfhere expelled the Northumbrians under Oswy from Mercia, and later he conquered Essex and Sussex. (2) He encouraged Christianity—established in 656 by the missionary Chad—and founded Lichfield and other bishoprics.

II. *Mercian supremacy under Ethelbald, Offa, and Cenwulf, 716–819.*

- i. **Under Ethelbald, 716–55**: Mercia became supreme south of the Humber.
- ii. **Under Offa, 757–95**, the greatest of all the Mercian kings, Mercian power was extended over all England.
 1. **His conquests**. He subdued (1) Kent at **Oxford** (775), (2) East Anglia, (3) Wessex at **Bensington** (779), and (4) the mid-Welsh of Powysland. To protect his western boundary he then built **Offa’s Dyke** from Chester to Chepstow.
 2. **His support of the Church**—and his ambition—was shown by his enlarging **Lichfield**, with papal consent, to an archbishopric, 786, with control of all the midland bishops.
 3. **His commercial policy**: (1) Mercian traders were encouraged to cross the seas, (2) a good coinage was created, (3) a treaty was made with Charlemagne to secure protection for English merchants and for English pilgrims to Rome.

- iii. **Under Cenwulf, 796-819:** Kent was again subdued after several revolts; but control over the midland bishops was restored to Canterbury.

III. *Collapse of Mercian supremacy, 819-25.*

- i. **Under Beornwulf, 819-25,** began civil war and anarchy, and the final overthrow of Mercian power by Egbert of Wessex followed at **Ellandun, 825** (*postea*, C. III).
- ii. **Chief causes of the decline of Mercian supremacy:** (1) Lack of unity among the various tribes composing Mercia, only held together so long as powerful kings ruled. (2) Weak geographical position of Mercia, divided up by many forests and fens, and exposed to attacks from all sides. (3) The increasing anarchy following on the weak rule of its kings after Offa, exposing it both to (4) the invasions and ravages of the Danes, and to (5) the West Saxon attacks under Egbert.

C. **THE FIRST SUPREMACY OF WESSEX, 829-58; AND THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE DANISH INVASIONS, 787-855.**

I. *Wessex previous to its supremacy* (refer *antea*, p. II).

- i. **Its condition, 600-88:** one of frequent turbulence, owing to the dissensions among its thegns and to the weakness of its kings. **Under Cenwealh** it was conquered by Penda of Mercia, 654 (*antea*, B. I).
- ii. **Under Ina, 688-725:** it expanded east and west, the Mercians were overthrown 715, and good order was established by the *issue of a code of West Saxon laws*.
- iii. **From Ina to Egbert, 725-802.** (1) The Mercians were defeated by the West Saxon king **Cuthred** at **Burford, 752**. (2) Wessex was again subjugated by Offa of Mercia, with **Beorhtric** as its sub-king (died 802). (3) *The Danes first landed in England, 787,* and ravaged the south coast of Wessex.

II. *Beginning of the Danish Invasions.*

- i. **The Northmen as invaders of Europe.** The invaders came from Norway and southern Sweden as well as Denmark. All were heathens and uncivilized sea-rovers, as the 'Saxons' had been three centuries earlier. Their first ravages on the Continent were made during the reign of Charles the Great; increasing and extending during those of his successors. Their first *settlements* began after 850 in northern Gaul (Normandy) and England; later, in Sicily, Iceland, the Orkneys, northern Scotland, and eastern Ireland.
- ii. **The three periods of Danish invasions in England.** (1) *Period of plunder and devastation, 787-855,* during the summers of which

they especially attacked the east and south coasts. (2) *Period of settlement*, 855-901, during which they settled chiefly in the north-east and east. (3) *Period of conquest*, 980-1042, during which they came in fresh numbers under their kings to conquer and rule the whole land. Three Danish kings ruled all England, 1016-42.

Note 1.—The two chief causes of the success of the Northmen were : (1) the English lack of warships with which to fight them on the sea, and (2) the dissensions of the English, fighting as they were so often, among themselves.

Note 2.—For the results of their Invasions and Conquest see *postea*, p. 31.

III. *Wessex under Egbert, 802-39: its supremacy after 829.*

- i. **Egbert's successes, 802-29.** (1) The Mercian power under Beornwulf was finally overthrown at **Ellandun** (Wilts.), 825 (*antea*, B. III). (2) The minor kingdoms were subjugated, 826, and Northumbria, 828.
- ii. **Wessex the supreme kingdom in England from 829.** This was signified by Egbert's assumption of the title '*Rex Anglorum*', though he was really king of Wessex only, and overlord of the rest as far north as the Forth except Strathclyde. In 836 he defeated the allied armies of Danes and rebellious Welsh at **Hengest's Down** (Cornwall).

IV. *Ethelwulf (son of Egbert), King of Wessex, 839-58.*

- i. **His struggle with the Danes.** (1) In 851, after years of ravaging, a Danish army plundered London, but Ethelwulf defeated it at **Ockley** (Surrey). (2) In 855 the Danes first wintered in England—in **Sheppey**. (3) In 856 Ethelwulf made a pilgrimage to Rome, and also allied with Charles the Bald of Germany—both to strengthen himself against the Danes. (4) He died 858, and was followed on the throne by his four sons successively (858-901).
- ii. **Causes of the supremacy of Wessex.** (1) Its position proximate to the Continent and a superior stage of civilization—combined with its own internal resources. (2) The succession on its throne of a line of vigorous and able kings, from Egbert onwards for over 130 years. (3) Its favourable geographical position in England without the physical disadvantages which had hindered Mercia and Northumbria. (4) The presence within its borders—at Canterbury—of the centre of the united English Church, the heads of which generally encouraged the supremacy of Wessex. (5) Its struggles with the Danes, tending to unite the West Saxons under their kings as no other kingdom had been united.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF KINGDOMS AND EVENTS DURING THE 'SETTLEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH', 449-829.

Jutes.		Saxons.		Angles.		Angles and Frisians.		
KENT.		SUSSEX.	WESEX.	ESSEX.	EAST ANGLIA.	NORTHUMBRIA.	MERCIA.	
449 to 500	Founded 449, under Hengest and Horsa. * HENGEST (473-89?). Capital <i>Canterbury</i> .	Founded 477, under Ella. * ELLA (477-517). Capital <i>Chichester</i> .	Founded 495, under Cerdic. Capital <i>Winchester</i> . [See Note 1 below.]	—	—	—	—	
500 to 550	[N. B. After 517 Sussex was subordinated to Kent, Mercia, Wessex in turn.]	* CERDIC (519-34). (1) 520: defeated at Mons Badon by the Britons. CYNRIC (534-60).	Founded about 520. * ESCWINE (527-?) [<i>don. Lon.</i>]. Capital <i>London</i> .	Founded 530-40, under various leaders. Capital <i>Norwich</i> .	(a) BERNICA : founded 547, under Ida. * IDA (547-60). Capital <i>Bamborough</i> .	—	—	
550 to 600	ETHELEBERT (560?-616). (1) Defeated by Ceawlin at <i>Wimbleton</i> , 568. (2) By 590 was Bretwalda. (3) 597: <i>Roman Christianity introduced</i> . [See Note 2 below.]	CEAWLIN (560-91). (1) 568: victorious over Kent at Wimbleton . (2) 571: victorious over Britons at Bedford . (3) 577: victorious over Britons at Deorham . (4) 584: defeated by Britons at Fethanlea .	SEBERT (587-616). (1) By 590 had submitted to Kent.	* UFFA (571-8). REDWALD (593-617). (1) By 600 had submitted to Kent.	(b) DEIRA : founded 590, under Iffa. * IFFA (590-60). Capital <i>York</i> . ELLA (560-88). (c) NORTHUMBRIA [(a) + (b)]: founded by * ETHELRIC of Bernicia (588-93).	Founded 550-60, under various leaders. * CRIDDA (d. 600). Capital <i>Lichfield</i> .	—	
600 to 655	EDBALD (616-40). [N. B. After 640 Kent was subordinated in turn to Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex.] [See Note 3 below.]	[<i>Christianity</i> not introduced into Sussex till 661.]	[N. B. After Ceawlin Wessex was unimportant for 200 years except at intervals.] (1) 628: West Saxons defeated at Cirencester by Penda. (2) 635: Roman Christianity introduced into Wessex by monk Birinus . CENWEALH (643-72).	(2) 604: Roman Christianity introduced . (3) 617: victorious over Ethelric of Northumbria at Retford . SIGEBERT THE GOOD (653-60). (1) <i>Christianity restored</i> 654. [N. B. After 660 Essex was subordinated to Mercia, then to Wessex.]	(2) 604: Roman Christianity introduced . (3) 617: victorious over Ethelric of Northumbria at Retford . SIGEBERT THE LEARNED (631-5). (1) <i>Christianity restored</i> by Felix, 631. (2) 635: defeated by Penda. ANNA (635-54). [N. B. After 654 East Anglia subordinated to Mercia, then to Wessex.]	ETHELFRITH (593-617). (1) 603: victorious over Welsh at Daegsastan , and (2) in 613 at Cheser . (2) 617: slain at Retford by Edwin and Redwald. EDWIN (617-33). (1) 617-20: conquered Loidis and Elmete , and N. Wales. (2) 627: Roman Christianity introduced by Paulinus . OSWALD (633-42). (1) 635: victorious at Heavenfield .	PENDA (625-55). <i>Victories</i> : (1) 628 over Wessex at Cirencester . (2) 633: over Edwin at Hatfield . (3) 635: over East Anglia. (4) 642: over Oswald at Maserfield . Slain 655 at Winwaedfield .	—

WESEX.	NORTHUMBRIA.	MERCIA.
<p>INA (688-725). (1) 715: victorious over the Mercians at Wanborough. (2) Codified the West Saxon laws. [See Note 4 below.]</p>	<p>OSWIU (continued). (2) 664: the <i>Synod of Whitby</i>. EGFRITH (670-85). (1) 685: defeated and slain at Nectansmere by Picts, Scots, and Welsh. ALDFRITH THE LEARNED (685-705).</p>	<p>WULFHERE (659-75). (1) 656: Keltic Christianity introduced by <i>Chad</i>.</p>
<p>CUTHRED (741-54).</p>	<p>[N.B. After 705 began the decline of Northumbria, and for the next 100 years anarchy prevailed, fourteen kings ruling in turn during that time.]</p>	<p>ETHELBALD (716-55). (1) 752: defeated by West Saxons at Burford.</p>
<p>(1) 752: victorious over the Mercians at Burford. BEORHTRIC or BRITHRIC (784-802). (1) 787: coast of Wessex ravaged by Danes; their first appearance in England.</p>		<p>OFFA (757-95). (1) 775: victorious over Kent at Offord. (2) 779: victorious over Wessex at Bensington. (3) 780: conquered Powysland (mid-Wales) and (4) then built Offa's Dyke. CENWULF (796-819).</p>
<p>EGBERT (802-829). (1) 825: victorious over Mercians at Ellandun. (2) By 829 was acknowledged overlord by Mercia, Northumbria, and the minor kingdoms.</p> <p>From 829-39 Egbert was 'Rex Anglorum'. Henceforward Wessex was the chief kingdom in England.</p>	<p>823-9: Northumbria conquered by Egbert.</p>	<p>BEORNWULF (810-25). (1) 825: defeated by Egbert at Ellandun. Mercia then submitted to Wessex.</p>

*Notes:—*1. The first king of each kingdom is denoted by an *asterisk*.

2. By 600 the English had occupied all England east of a line drawn from *Poole* to the Severn, thence along the Pennines to the Forth, except the two Celtic kingdoms of *Loidis* and *Eborac* (in W. Yorkshire).

3. After 660 the three surviving, independent kingdoms were *Wessex*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*. The others had by this date become permanently subordinate.

4. During 668-90 all England was organized under the *Roman Church* by *Theodore of Tarsus*, archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLES OF THE ENGLISH WITH THEIR FIRST EXTERNAL FOES, 855-979

CONTEMPORARY RULERS AND EVENTS (refer *antea*, p. 14).

- (i) **BREAK-UP OF THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE INTO FIVE KINGDOMS, 888—** East, and West, Francia; Upper, and Lower, Burgundy; and Italy—owing partly to internal dissensions, partly to attacks of Northmen, Magyars, Saracens, and others. After several generations the two Burgundies collapsed, while Italy passed more or less under the later Emperors (*postea*, p. 27).

1. **West Francia (or France) and its Kings (888-986)**—all Carolingians except the first: (1) Odo, son of Count Robert of Paris (888-98); (2) the five Carolingian kings: Charles the Simple (898-929), Lewis d'Outre-Mer (929-36), Rudolf (936-54), Lothar (954-86), Lewis (986).

Note.—The **Duchy of Normandy** was first granted by Charles the Simple to **Rolf or Rollo the Ganger** and his Northmen in 912.

2. **East Francia (or Germany) and its Kings (888-973)**: (1) Its Carolingian kings: Arnulf (888-99), Lewis the Child (899-911); Conrad I the Franconian (911-18). (2) Its first two *Saxon* kings: Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony (918-36), and his son **Otto I (936-73)**, the latter almost as powerful as Charlemagne. He subjugated Denmark, Poland, Hungary, and Lombardy, and under him the real greatness of mediaeval Germany began.

- (ii) **FOUNDATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 962**—through the appeal of Pope John XII to Otto I of Germany for aid, owing to the long-continued disorders in Italy and the consequent attacks on the Papacy. The Pope restored to power by Otto, who was rewarded by being crowned, 962, as 'Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire'. From this time the kings of Germany claimed as their right both the Imperial and the Lombard crowns, and the Papacy was subordinate to them till the eleventh century.

- (iii) **KINGS OF SCOTLAND**—Constantine (904-43), Malcolm I (943-54), Kenneth II (971-97).

A. THE SECOND DANISH PERIOD—THAT OF SETTLEMENT, 855-901.

1. *The Reigns of Ethelwulf's three elder sons in Wessex,* 858-71.

- i. **Ethelbald (858-60), and Ethelbert (860-6)**: whose reigns are chiefly noteworthy for the increasing inroads of Danes into all parts of England.

This was due to the rise at this time of three strong kingdoms in Scandinavia—Norway, Sweden, Denmark—and to the departure thence of numerous jarls (or earls) and their followers, determined to preserve their independence by seeking new homes in other lands. The Danes mostly came to England.

- ii. **Ethelred I, 866-71.** 1. **Outside Wessex:** (1) York was captured by Danes 866, and a Danish kingdom established in Northumbria. (2) Mercia overrun, 868. (3) East Anglia invaded 870, Edmund, its last native king, martyred, and the throne assumed by **Guthrum**, the Danish leader.
2. **Invasion of Wessex by Guthrum, 871:** (1) his army defeated at **Ashdown** (near Reading) by Ethelred's brother Alfred; but (2) Ethelred mortally wounded at **Merton**.

II. *The Reign of Ethelwulf's fourth son, Alfred the Great, 871-901.*

- i. **Alfred's struggles against the Danes.** 1. Alfred defeated at **Wilton** (Wilts.) 871; and peace made with the Danes. They then settled in Mercia, Deira, and East Anglia; and many Danish towns sprang up, notably 'The Five Boroughs' of Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford, Derby, and Nottingham.
2. **Several naval victories** gained by Alfred over the Danes, 875-6.
3. **Guthrum victorious at Chippenham, 878**, after which Alfred withdrew to the Isle of Athelney in Somerset.
4. **Alfred victorious at Ethandun (Wilts.) 878**, when he made *Peace of Wedmore* with Guthrum.

Terms: (1) Alfred to retain Wessex together with Mercia west of Watling Street; (2) Guthrum and his nobles to become Christians and not to interfere further with Alfred's kingdom.

Note.—The part of England from Thames to Tees, east of Watling Street, came to be called *The Danelagh*, because Danish laws prevailed there.

5. *Importance of the Treaty of Wedmore:* (1) It was the turning-point in the history both of Wessex and of England. (2) It enabled Alfred to consolidate his kingdom, so that it became the foundation on which *the future England* was built by his descendants. (3) It allowed the Danes to make settlements among the English in the north and east, and thus helped to add valuable elements of strength to the English race and character.
- ii. **Beneficent character of Alfred's later reign, 879-901.** *His policy* was to consolidate and strengthen his territory rather than strive to add to it by further wars. This he did in the following ways:
 - (1) *He formed the first English navy*, and encouraged maritime enterprise by (a) building ships of an improved type to guard the coasts and

fight enemies at sea before they could land, and (b) sending navigators to explore the Arctic and Baltic seas. (2) *He re-organized the land-forces* and the fortifications of towns. (3) *He revised the laws and law-courts*—by drawing up a code of laws, and by appointing skilled judges. (4) *He cared for the improvement of the people*—by encouraging learning, founding schools, inviting learned foreigners to his kingdom, and translating books.

iii. **Alfred's later wars and death.** (1) In 893 the Danish attacks on Wessex were renewed under a leader named *Hasting*; but Alfred gained several victories over the invaders during 894-6. (2) Alfred died, according to some historians, in 899, but more probably in 901. His son Edward succeeded him.

iv. **Benefits of Alfred's reign.** (1) The salvation of Wessex and, with it, of the predominance of the *English* race in these islands. (2) The consolidation and strengthening of his kingdom so as to become under his descendants a bulwark against disintegration by Danish attacks. (3) The improvement of the education, religion, and social welfare of his people. (4) The West Saxon Revival of Learning, and the growth of a *native* literature earlier than is to be found in any other modern country in Europe.

B. THE SECOND SUPREMACY OF WESSEX, 901-79.

I. *Reign of Edward the Elder, 901-25.*

i. **Opposition of his cousin Ethelwald** (son of Ethelred I), who was made King of Northumbria by the Danes, but was slain in battle, 905.

ii. **Edward's reconquest of England south of Humber, 906-21:** by his plan of fortress-building, and by aid of his sister **Ethelfleda**, 'Lady of the Mercians' and widow of Alderman Ethelred of Mercia. The Five Boroughs and nearly all Mercia were reconquered by her, while Edward was subduing the east. In 921 the Danes and English of Mercia, Essex, and East Anglia submitted to Edward as their king.

iii. **His overlordship of the rest of Britain gained 922-5:** (1) over Wales in 922, and (2) over the Northumbrians, Strathclyde Welsh, and Scots, who submitted to him at **Dore**, near Sheffield, in 924.

iv. **Edward's death, 925.** He had greatly extended his father's kingdom, and prepared the way for further developments by his three sons.

II. *Reign of Athelstan 'The Glorious' (son of Edward), 925-40.*

i. **His domestic policy.** (1) After reconquering Wales and annexing Northumbria as an integral part of Wessex (926), Athelstan com-

pelled all the sub-rulers of Britain to do him homage (927). (2) He then issued laws, and strengthened his power by dividing his dominions into provinces under aldermen; so that *Wessex became one of the chief kingdoms of western Europe*.

- ii. **His foreign policy.** Through the marriages of his sisters to foreign princes Athelstan exercised great influence on the Continent. One sister married Otto I, the Great (afterwards Emperor), another Hugh Capet (Count of Paris), a third Louis of Arles, a fourth Charles the Simple (King of West Francia). He helped Charles's son, *Louis d'Outre-Mer*, to gain his father's throne in 929.
- iii. **Revolt of the Scottish King Constantine**—in league with the Kelts of Strathclyde and Wales, and the Northumbrian Danes. Athelstan gained 'a glorious victory' over them at **Brunanburh** (Northumberland?), 937. He died 940.

III. *The reigns of Athelstan's two brothers.*

- i. **Edmund I 'the Magnificent', 940-6.**
 1. **Revolts:** (1) The Danes in Northumbria and Mercia (940) were suppressed by Edmund in 944. (2) Northern Strathclyde (from Cumbria to the Clyde) was reconquered 945, and granted to Malcolm, King of the Scots, as a fief—for the better protection of the northern borders.
 2. **Edmund's death, 946**—murdered at a banquet by an intruding outlaw. His sons, Edwy and Edgar, being too young, his brother succeeded him.
- ii. **Edred, 946-55:** under whom **Dunstan** first became chief minister (see *below*).
 1. A revolt of the Northumbrian Danes was quelled, and Northumbria was changed from a sub-kingdom to an earldom of Wessex.
 2. Edred died 955, and was succeeded by his nephew Edwy.

IV. *Reign of Edwy, 955-9.*

- i. **Early career and policy of Dunstan.**
 1. Educated at Glastonbury, he had been made abbot of that monastery by Edmund I in 943. As chief adviser of Edred (see *above*) *he was the first of a long line of ecclesiastical statesmen, the last of whom was Wolsey*.
 2. **His policy.** (1) *Political:* to unite Danes and English into one nation by promoting a strong central government under the kings of Wessex. (2) *Religious:* to strengthen the authority of the Church under the archbishop, by enforcing discipline and better education among the clergy, both the *regulars* (monks) and the *seculars* (parish priests).
- ii. **Quarrel between Edwy and Dunstan**—over the former's marriage. As a result Dunstan was banished in 956. Edwy's weak government, however, caused the Danes north of the Thames to choose his younger brother Edgar as king in 957. On Edwy's death, 959, Edgar succeeded to the whole kingdom.

V. *The Reigns of Edgar and his son Edward.*

i. **Edgar the Peaceful, 959-75.** 1. **His support of Dunstan and the Church-reform party.**

(1) Edgar at once recalled Dunstan and made him his chief minister and bishop of London. (2) The efforts of Archbishop Oda, of Canterbury, and Dunstan to reform the Church received his support, but were opposed by the great thegns. (3) On Oda's death, 960, Edgar appointed Dunstan as archbishop, and aided him in the establishment of many bishoprics and Benedictine monasteries.

Note.—The regular policy of the nobles now was to keep the authority of both Church and King weak, by dividing the former from the latter, in order to aggrandize their own power; but during Edgar's life it was thwarted. In this policy, however, we see *the rise of feudal tendencies*, which greatly developed under Ethelred the Unready (*postea*, pp. 27, 30).

2. **Peaceful character of Edgar's reign**—with Dunstan as chief minister. (1) The Danes settled in England became completely anglicized; they were allowed their own *by-laws* (i. e. town-laws) and treated like the English. (2) All the vassal states did homage to Edgar, and his fleet patrolled the coasts of the whole island periodically. (3) A new code of laws was drawn up, under which the *hundred-courts* were restored everywhere, crimes were punished, and commerce was fostered. (4) **Lothian**—between Tweed and Forth—was ceded as a fief to Kenneth II, king of Scotland, on terms similar to those of Edmund I's cession of Cumberland (*antea*, B. III).

3. **Edgar's death, 975**—was followed by the accession of his elder son Edward.

ii. **Reign of Edward the Martyr, 975-9.** Despite an opposition party formed of the great nobles and the monastic clergy in support of Edward's step-brother, Ethelred, Edward was crowned by Dunstan. But he was murdered in 979 by servants of his step-mother at Corfe Castle. Ethelred succeeded him at the age of ten.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRD DANISH PERIOD—CONQUEST AND
RULE, 979-1042CONTEMPORARY RULERS AND EVENTS (*antea*, p. 22).

- (i) **THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY. I. Possession of the imperial title and of important territories south of the Alps by the kings of Germany for three centuries after Otto I.** The alliance and the later rivalries between Empire and Papacy supply the central events of the *mediaeval* history of Europe.
 2. **The Saxon Emperors (descendants of Otto I) were:** Otto II (973-83), Otto III (983-1002), Henry II (1002-24). These were followed by—
 3. **The Franconian Emperors (who ruled till 1135):** Conrad II (1024-39), Henry III (1039-56). See also next chapter.
 4. **The chief Popes were:** John XII (955-63), Sylvester II (999-1002)
- (ii) **FRANCE. I. Beginning of the Capetian Dynasty** in Hugh Capet, Duke of France, who was chosen king 987, on death of last Carolingian king (*antea*, p. 22). This was the real beginning of the **modern kingdom of France**, Capet's direct heirs reigning till 1328, and other descendants till 1830.
 2. **Early Capetian kings:** Hugh Capet (987-96), Robert (996-1031), Henry I (1031-60).
- (iii) **KINGS OF SCOTLAND** (*antea*, p. 22): Kenneth II (971-97), Kenneth III (997-1003), Malcolm II (1003-33), Duncan (1033-40), Macbeth (1040-57).

A. THE DANISH CONQUEST OF ENGLAND, 980-1016.**I. Reign of Edgar's second son, Ethelred II (the Unready), 979-1016.**

- i. **Causes of the disorderly reign of Ethelred.** (1) Ethelred's youth at his accession, which gave opportunity for the great thegns to seize chief power, to drive Dunstan from the court, and to quarrel among themselves for supremacy. (2) His weakness of character as he grew up—note his nickname of 'Unready' or 'Redeless', i. e. without counsel, or purpose—and his trust in *favourites*: Alfric, Edric the Streona or Grasper, and others. (3) The steady growth in power and territory of the West Saxon nobles under Alfred and his descendants, who had depended on them for their military successes. (4) The renewed invasions of the Danes, aided by the treachery of several English nobles and, after a time, by the Danes of the Danelagh.

ii. **Death of Dunstan.** Expelled from the king's court, 979, through influence of the nobles hostile to his policy of order, and jealous of him, he retired to Canterbury, where he died in 988.

iii. **Renewal of the Danish Invasions, 980-1002.** 1. *Causes* : (1) The establishment of settled kingdoms in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and growth of the population beyond adequate means of support in their native lands. The Swedes invaded Russia, the Danes and Norwegians Germany, until checked by Henry the Fowler (*antea*, p. 22), when they turned to England again. (2) The disorderly condition of England under the weak rule of Ethelred.

2. *Events* : (1) For several years the Danes ravaged the country, being aided by English treachery. (2) In 991 the famous battle of **Maldon** (Essex) was fought, the English ealdorman Brihtnoth being killed. (3) In 991 also the **first levy of the tax called Danegeld** was made by Ethelred and his Witan to buy off the Danes. (4) In 992 the English won the naval victory of London. (5) In 994 new hordes appeared under **Olaf**, king of Norway, and **Sweyn**, king of Denmark. Fresh levies of Danegeld were then made to buy off these and subsequent invaders.

iv. **Two fateful steps taken by Ethelred, 1002.** 1. **His marriage with Emma of Normandy**, sister of Duke Richard the Good, to strengthen himself against the Danes.

Result : England was connected intimately with Normandy, and the way paved for the Norman Conquest.

2. **His massacre of Danes on St. Brice's Day (November 13).**

Result : Revival of invasions led by Sweyn, whose sister was among the slain.

v. **Events from 1003-16.**

1. Prolonged Danish attacks were made on Kent, the midlands, and the north.
2. In 1013 the English Witan submitted to Sweyn, and Ethelred fled to Normandy.
3. In 1014 Sweyn died. His son Cnut was elected king of England by the Danes, but was rejected by the English Witan, who recalled Ethelred from Normandy.
4. Cnut was soon joined by Edric Streona, the former favourite of Ethelred, and civil war began, amid which Ethelred died, 1016.

II. *The brief but heroic Reign of Edmund II (Ironside), 1016.*

- i. **Great struggle between Edmund and Canute.** Edmund, son of Ethelred and his first wife, was elected as king by the English ;

Cnut, by the Danelagh. English enthusiasm being roused by Edmund's energy, several battles were won by him, causing Edric Streona to join him again. He was, however, defeated at *Assandun* in Essex, owing to Edric's treacherous desertion during the battle.

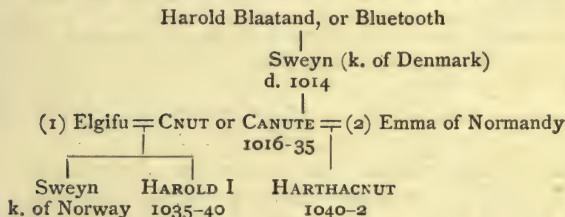
ii. **Division of England by the Treaty of Olney** (Gloucestershire):

(1) Edmund to retain Wessex, East Anglia, and Essex; (2) Cnut to rule Mercia and Northumbria; (3) the survivor to rule the whole kingdom.

iii. **Murder of Edmund, November 1016**—by Edric Streona, it is said.

B. THE DANISH SUPREMACY: FIRST PERIOD OF FOREIGN RULE IN ENGLAND, 1016-42.

TABLE OF THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.



I. Reign of Cnut the Dane, 1016-35.

i. **His policy**—at first to crush out of his way all opponents and possible rivals, and then to win his subjects' esteem by good laws, and by making England the centre of a great empire of the North.

ii. **Early events of the reign.** 1. **His division of England into four earldoms, 1017:** *Northumbria* and *East Anglia*, both under Danish earls; *Mercia*, under Edric Streona, and *Wessex*, under himself at first.

2. **His removal of rivals and dangers:** (1) Marriage with Emma of Normandy, Ethelred II's widow, 1017, thus securing both control of her sons Alfred and Edward, and friendship with Normandy. (2) Execution of Edmund Ironside's brother and Edric Streona. Leofwine made Earl of Mercia.

iii. **Cnut's wise government and peaceful reign.** 1. **His checks upon feudalism**—which it was the aim of the great nobles to establish in England in continental fashion.

(1) He renewed Edgar's laws, 1018, with additions, in order to maintain the people against the nobles. (2) He encouraged religion and learning in the Church, and commerce at home and abroad. (3) He organized a body-guard of several thousand men, which he

used to preserve order among the nobles. (4) Godwine (see *below*) was made Earl of Wessex 1020, and head of affairs during Cnut's absence abroad.

2. **The good results of his policy**—seen in the peaceful character of his reign, the esteem shown to him by both Danish and English subjects, and the extension of English commerce abroad.
3. **His pilgrimage to Rome, 1027**, during which he made friends with the Pope and the Emperor Conrad II.
- iv. **Cnut's extensive Northern Empire, and his foreign relations.**
 1. On his brother's death, 1018, he succeeded him as king of Denmark and overlord of Sweden. In 1028 he conquered Norway.
 2. Malcolm of Scotland submitted to him 1031, in return for Cnut's renewed cession of Lothian, henceforward an integral part of Scotland.
 3. He made treaties with Emperor Conrad II and other continental rulers for the protection of English commerce, and pilgrims to Rome.
 4. He made England the centre of his Northern Empire, and Englishmen were appointed to all chief posts in state and church.
- v. **Death of Cnut, 1035**, and division of his empire among his three sons.

Note.—The good work of Cnut in checking the feudal tendencies of Ethelred's reign, by his renewal of the centralizing and peaceful policy of Edgar, was in great part undone during the period of confusion following on his death. The weak rule of his sons and Edward the Confessor allowed the foundations of feudalism to be once more established.

vi. **Rise and early career of Earl Godwine.**

He was the son of an English peasant, Wulfnoth; but nothing is known of his early life. Gaining the notice of Cnut by his prowess in Denmark 1019, he married Cnut's niece Gytha. Made Earl of Wessex 1020, he was the king's deputy and chief minister during rest of reign.

Note.—From 1035 till his death, 1052, Godwine was the most important *subject* in England, and its chief defender from the encroachments of foreigners.

II. *Reign of Cnut's two sons, Harold and Harthacnut.*

- i. **Harold I (Harefoot), 1035-40.**
 1. Struggle for England between Cnut's English sons, Harold and Harthacnut till 1037, when Harold became sole king by choice of the Witan.
 2. Arrival in England, meanwhile, of Alfred and Edward, sons of Ethelred II. Murder of the former, 1036, and escape of Edward to Normandy, to return later as king of England (*postea*, p. 34).

3. Banishment of Emma of Normandy by Harold, 1037.
4. Death of Harold, 1040.
- ii. **Harthacnut, 1040-2:** accepted as king by all England. He ruled England as a country subordinate to Denmark, and levied the Danegeld to support his Danish fleet and army. He died suddenly at a banquet, 1042.

III. *Some Results of the Danish Invasions and Conquest.*

- i. **On the inhabitants**—a permanent infusion of the Scandinavian racial qualities into the population of those regions where the Northmen settled: the Danes chiefly in Northumbria, the Norwegians in N.E. Scotland and the Orkneys.
- ii. **On the English Language and Literature.** 1. The almost complete destruction of the old Northumbrian literature and monastic seats of learning.
 2. The acceleration of natural changes in the English language by loss of inflexions and words; accompanied by the introduction of many Scandinavian words, and especially of numerous place-names.
- iii. **On the social and political system.** 1. Break-up of the power of the old royal families of Northumbria and Mercia, and extension of the power of Wessex thereby.
 2. The rise and development of a *feudal military*, as well as *judicial*, system in England long before the Norman Conquest, owing to the need of the West Saxon kings to rely on their nobles for military aid during the long Danish wars. The development was only checked, not stopped, by Cnut's establishment of his four earldoms.
 3. The first consolidation of Anglo-Saxon England into one kingdom, as a result of the combined efforts made to resist the Danes.

BOOK III

THE PERIOD OF ENGLAND'S NATIONALIZATION UNDER THE NORMAN AND EARLY ANGEVIN KINGS, 1042-1216

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK III (*antea*, p. 8)

Note.—Where no reference pages are given, it is intended that the student should consult fuller text-books, as he should also do generally of course.

(i) **RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.** 1. Blend of the Teutonic-Norman strain with the English stock after the Norman Conquest, but chiefly confined to the upper classes. This was the *final external* influence of importance upon the composition of the English race.

2. Continuance of the Ibero-Keltic race collaterally : (1) *In Wales*, with a later admixture of Normans, Flemings, and English in the south [ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, p. 48]. (2) *In Scotland*, with an admixture of northern Angles and Normans in the Lowlands and the south [ch. III, p. 44]. (3) *In Ireland*, with an admixture of Danes, Normans, and English in the eastern parts [ch. VI, p. 53].

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land and the Feudal System.** (1) *Feudal tenure* developed by the Conqueror and extended to all the land in England [ch. II, pp. 39, 41, 42]; but (2) *checks placed upon Feudal government* by the Conqueror and his successors—except Stephen [ch. II, p. 41; ch. III, p. 43; ch. IV, pp. 46-7; ch. VI, pp. 51, 54]. (3) *Checks also placed upon Feudal tenure* [ch. II, p. 42; ch. VI, pp. 51-2, 54, 55]. (4) *An anti-monarchical struggle begun* by the baronage for feudal independence, and continued for a hundred years [ch. II, p. 39; ch. III, p. 43; ch. IV, pp. 46-7; ch. V, p. 49; ch. VI, pp. 54-5]. Its failure helped the decline of feudalism, and caused the barons first to support the constitution [ch. VII and ch. VIII, pp. 61-3], and then to seek political power [see Book IV, pp. 64-5].

2. **Society.** (1) Introduction of a Norman aristocracy which dominated the English thegns and lower classes. (2) Growth of towns, and (3) of the artisan and trading classes through the influence of continental luxury and refinement [ch. II, p. 42].

3. **Commerce and the Industries.** Growth of these through the closer connexion with the Continent after 1066 [ch. II, p. 42; ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, p. 48; ch. VIII, p. 62].

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) Spread of learning and architecture through the influence of the Norman clergy [ch. II, pp. 40, 42]. (2) Spread of

medical and other scientific knowledge through the *introduction of the Jews after the Conquest*.

(iii) **RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **On the spiritual side:** the English Church linked more closely to Rome and reformed [ch. II, pp. 38, 40].

2. **On the temporal side :** (1) Rise of papal claims to political power in England, as on the Continent generally [ch. II, p. 40]. (2) Resistance of the Crown to these papal pretensions [ch. II, p. 40; ch. III, pp. 44-5; ch. IV, p. 46; ch. VI, pp. 52-3; ch. VIII, p. 60]. (3) Growth of the English Church in temporal power and wealth [ch. II, p. 40; ch. IV, p. 48; ch. V, p. 49; ch. VI, p. 52; ch. VIII, pp. 60-2].

3. **Beginning and spread of the Crusade movement** [ch. III, p. 44; ch. VI, p. 55; ch. VII, pp. 56-7].

4. **Revival of the Monastic movement.**

5. **Rise of clerics as royal ministers and statesmen** [Lanfranc, Flambard, Anselm, Roger of Salisbury, Becket, Glanville, Longchamps, Hubert Walter, FitzPeter, Langton].

(iv) **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **Final unification of England** under the Norman Kings [chs. I-V], leading to its *nationalization* under the early Angevin Kings [chs. VI-VIII].

2. **Territorial expansion** of England [ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, pp. 46, 48; ch. VI, pp. 50, 53, 54].

3. **Territorial losses** [ch. VII, p. 56; ch. VIII, p. 60].

4. **Foreign relations :** (1) *The French Kings* permanently hostile to England [ch. II, p. 41; ch. IV, p. 47; ch. VI, p. 54; ch. VII, pp. 57, 58; ch. VIII, pp. 59-61]. (2) *The Scottish Kings* made vassals of England [ch. II, p. 39; ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, p. 47; ch. VI, p. 54; ch. VII, p. 60]. (3) *Wales* gradually reduced to vassalage [ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, p. 48; ch. VI, p. 51]. (4) Relations with the *Empire* [ch. IV, p. 47; ch. VII, p. 57; ch. VIII, pp. 60-1]. (5) With the *Papacy* [ch. II, pp. 40, 42; ch. III, p. 45; ch. IV, p. 46; ch. VI, pp. 52-3, 56; ch. VIII, pp. 60-2]. (6) With the *Crusades* [ch. III, p. 44; ch. VI, p. 55; ch. VII, pp. 56-7].

(v) **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. Increase in the **royal power under the Feudal System** [ch. II, pp. 41-2; ch. III, p. 44; ch. IV, p. 48].

2. Increase in the **royal tyranny** [ch. II, pp. 39, 42; ch. III, p. 43; ch. VIII, pp. 60-1]. *The checks* on this were (1) insecurity of the throne [ch. III, p. 43; ch. IV, p. 46; ch. V, p. 49], and (2) other checks [ch. VIII, pp. 61, 62].

3. Growth of a **system of central government** [ch. II, pp. 41-2; ch. IV, p. 47; ch. VI, pp. 51, 54, 55; ch. VII, p. 58].

4. Development of **law and justice under the Curia Regis** [ch. II, pp. 40-2; ch. IV, pp. 45-7; ch. VI, pp. 54-6; ch. VII, p. 58; ch. VIII, p. 62].

5. Growth of the **Norman Magnum Concilium** in place of the English Witenagemot [ch. II, p. 42; ch. III, pp. 43, 45; ch. IV, pp. 45, 47; ch. V, p. 48; ch. VI, pp. 52, 54-5, 56; ch. VII, pp. 57, 58; ch. VIII, pp. 59, 61, 62].

6. Growth of a **military system** through (a) the establishment of a *feudal army* in addition to the old fyrd [ch. II, p. 41; ch. IV, p. 46; ch. VI, p. 55]; (b) the *scutage system* and hire of mercenary troops [ch. VI, p. 51].
7. Temporary growth of a **navy** [ch. VII, p. 58; ch. VIII, p. 61].

CHAPTER I

THE WEST SAXON RESTORATION AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST, 1042-1066

A. THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-66.

I. *Edward, Earl Godwine, and the Norman Party, 1042-53.*

- i. **Edward elected as King** by the Witan of all England, partly through Godwine's influence. He soon began to promote his Norman friends to chief posts in Church and Court. In 1044 Robert of Jumièges was made Bishop of London, and, later, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Note.—The new king was pious and peace-loving; but his Norman up-bringing, which had made him Norman in sympathies and ways, and his lack of vigour and governing ability caused ceaseless contentions between his Norman favourites and the English nobles.

ii. **Predominance of Godwine, 1042-51.**

1. **Causes**: (1) his position as Earl of Wessex and chief English supporter of the king; (2) the marriage of his daughter Edith to Edward, 1045; and (3) the promotion of his sons Sweyn and Harold to earldoms in the Midlands and East Anglia.

2. **Development of faction** between the English, under Godwine, and the Normans.

3. **Quarrel of Godwine with the King, 1051**—over the visit of the Norman Eustace of Boulogne to Edward.

Result—banishment of Godwine and his five sons by Edward, supported by the former's rivals, **Leofric** and **Siward**, who then became Earls of Mercia and Northumbria.

- iii. **Triumph of the Norman party**: followed by further promotions of Normans, the whole country coming under Norman influence. The opportunity was taken by William, Duke of Normandy, autumn 1051, to visit Edward, who promised to make him heir to his throne.

- iv. **National reaction in favour of Godwine, 1052**, and popular welcome of him and his sons on their return. A panic flight of Normans followed, and Godwine was restored to power by Edward. Also

Stigand, an English priest, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, though without papal sanction.

v. **Death of Godwine, 1053.**

II. *Godwine's son Harold in power, 1053-66, as Earl of Wessex.*

- i. **Suppression of the rebellion of Gryffyth**, King of North Wales, by Harold and his brother Tostig (now Earl of Northumbria), Gryffyth being slain, 1063.
- ii. **Harold in Normandy, 1064** (probably shipwrecked), when an oath was enforced upon him to support Duke William's claim to the English throne.
- iii. **Expulsion of Tostig by the Northumbrians**—in revolt against his cruelties, 1065. His earldom was given to *Morcar*, younger brother of *Edwin*, Earl of Mercia—both being grandsons of *Leofric*.
- iv. **Death of King Edward, 1066**—childless. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, which he had founded and built.

B. REIGN OF HAROLD II, 1066. THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

I. *Accession and Policy of Harold.*

- i. **His Election as King by the Witan**—in preference to Edgar Atheling, who was grandson of Edmund Ironside, and only a boy.
- ii. **His policy**—by conciliatory measures to unite all England against the expected attacks of William of Normandy.

II. *The three dangers to his Rule, and his ways of meeting them.*

- i. **The danger from Normandy—met by defiance.** 1. *The grounds of invasion put forward by Duke William* were :
 - (1) His cousinship with Edward the Confessor ; (2) the latter's promise of the crown to him in 1051 ; (3) Harold's perjury in breaking his oath of fealty made in 1064 ; and (4) the sanction by the Pope of his claims.
2. Harold refused to recognize William as king, and defiantly hastened his preparations of an army and a fleet on the south coast.
- ii. **The danger from the northern earldoms—met by conciliation.** The northerners were won over by Harold's tour among them, and by his marriage with *Aldgyth*, sister of *Edwin* and *Morcar*.
- iii. **The danger from his brother Tostig—met by force of arms.** On the arrival up the Ouse of Tostig and Harold *Hardrada*, King of Norway, they defeated *Edwin* and *Morcar* at **Fulford** near York ;

but both were, in turn, overthrown and slain by Harold himself at **Stamford Bridge**, east of York, September 25.

III. *The Norman Invasion and Conquest, September-December, 1066.*

- i. **Landing of Duke William at Pevensey, September 28**—while Harold was still in Yorkshire. Harold marched south, but was unaided by Edwin and Morcar.
- ii. **Battle of Hastings**—on Senlac Hill, October 14, and victory of William. Harold was slain after long fighting.
- iii. **William's advance on London** by the west and north—to cut off all communication with the northerners. The Witan and Edgar Atheling (although the latter had just been elected king) then submitted to William, who was crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066.

Note on the Conqueror's previous career. He was born 1027, son of Robert le Diable, Duke of Normandy (1029-35). He succeeded to the duchy in 1035; but under his guardians' rule a period of anarchy followed. In 1047 William himself gained a great victory at **Val-és-dunes**, near Caen, over the armed opposition of his nobles, and gradually restored law and order. In 1053 he married his cousin Matilda of Flanders, who was descended through her mother from Alfred the Great. In 1060 he gained a victory over Henry I, King of France, and made peace with him. In 1063 he subdued Maine and Brittany under his rule.

TABLE OF ENGLISH KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF EGBERT.

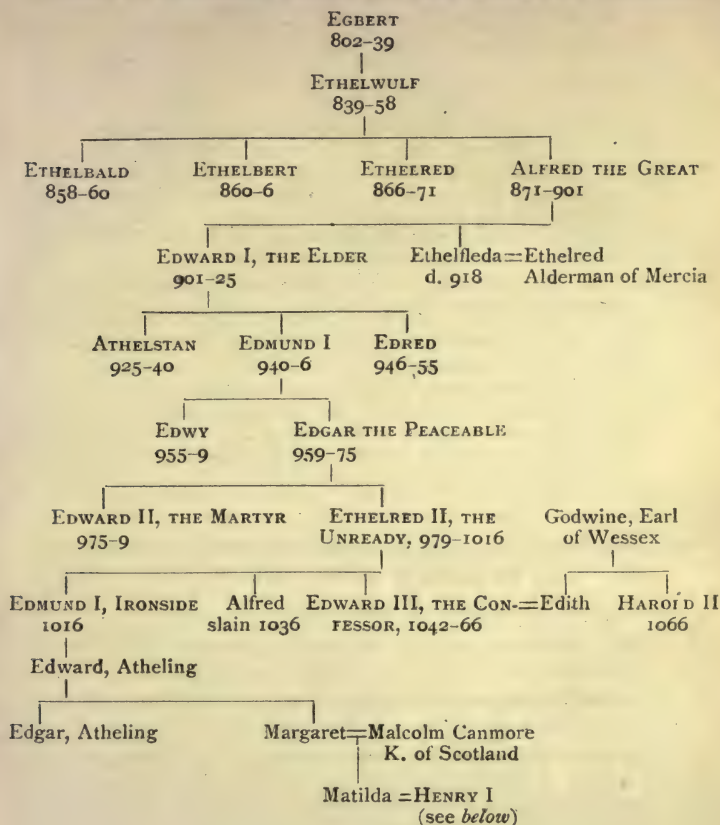
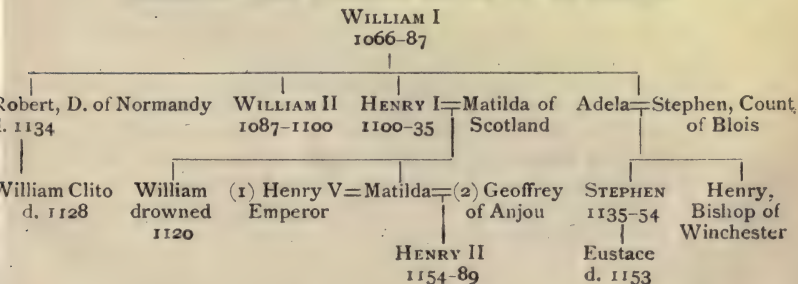


TABLE OF THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND.



CHAPTER II

WILLIAM I, THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087

- (i) **WILLIAM I'S TITLE TO THE THRONE:** by conquest, and election by the English Witenagemot. No king of England had hitherto ruled without election by the Witan; *and a similar election by the Norman Great Council, or its development the Parliament, has remained to the present day the one necessary title to the English throne.*
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER.** He was a man of strong purpose and unbending will; a most skilful warrior and statesman; a zealous supporter of religion and the Church. On the other hand he was unscrupulous, tyrannical, and cruel, shrinking from neither force, fraud, nor bloodshed, when necessary to his purpose.
- (iii) **HIS POLICY:** (1) to obtain possession of all English lands and redistribute them among his followers; (2) to keep both his English and his imported Norman subjects under control by a system of centralized government; and (3) to connect the English Church more closely with Rome, while excluding papal supremacy over it.

**A. THE ENGLISH AND NORMAN REBELLIONS AGAINST
WILLIAM'S RULE, 1066-82.**

I. *Risings of the English, 1067-72.*

i. Those occurring during William's absence in Normandy, 1067-8.

- 1. **In Kent and Hereford, 1067**—easily suppressed by William's regents Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William FitzOsbern.
- 2. **In the West and North, 1068**—the former incited by the sons of Harold, and the latter by Edgar Atheling, Edwin, and Morcar. William hastened from Normandy, captured Exeter, and quickly subdued Devon and Cornwall. He then marched into Northumbria, whereupon Edwin and Morcar submitted, and the Atheling fled to Scotland.

Note.—At Exeter, York, Durham, and Lincoln strong castles were now built to control the English.

- ii. **Fresh Risings during 1069.** 1. **Second rising in the West and North**—suppressed by William in January, Harold's sons being finally expelled. 2. **Third rising in the North**—under Edgar Atheling, Malcolm III of Scotland (his brother-in-law), and Earl Waltheof, assisted by the Danes under King Sweyn. William again hurried north, and bought off the Danes, on which Edgar and Malcolm withdrew to Scotland.

As a punishment, and to prevent further risings, William then devastated the plain of York so completely that it did not recover its importance for several centuries.

- iii. **Final struggle of the English under Hereward the Wake, 1070-1**, who entrenched himself in the **Isle of Ely** (Fen district), and was joined by Edwin and Morcar. His entrenchment being betrayed by a monk, Hereward escaped, but the others were captured, Edwin being put to death, and Morcar banished for life.

Note.—By 1072 William had completed his conquest of England, a comparatively easy task owing to jealousy and lack of unity among the English leaders. Malcolm of Scotland did homage to William at **Abernethy, 1072**.

- iv. **William's system of defence against Scots and Welsh. Three Counties Palatine** were created : **Chester** and **Shrewsbury** under separate earls, and **Durham** under the Bishop of Durham, each ruler having special powers in order to guard the frontiers under their charge.

II. *Rebellions of the Norman Barons, 1075-82.*

- i. **Revolt of Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, 1075-6**—in consequence of William's refusal to sanction a marriage between members of their families. Their plot with Waltheof to seize the kingdom failed. Waltheof was executed, and Hereford imprisoned, while Norfolk escaped.
- ii. **Rebellion of William's eldest son Robert, 1078-9**: aided by Philip I of France, and many barons in Normandy. William was defeated at **Gerberoi 1079**; but the revolt collapsed soon after.
- iii. **Conspiracy of Bishop Odo, half-brother of William, 1082**—due to Odo's ecclesiastical ambition. He plotted to take a feudal force to Rome; but being found out, he was imprisoned for life by William.

Note.—Until 1174 the feudal baronage of England, seeking to make themselves as free from monarchical control as were the continental barons, continued their struggles against the Norman kings. *The period 1072-1174* has been therefore called '*The Hundred Years' Struggle, Baronage v. Monarchy*'. The latter prevailed, chiefly because the English people, accepting the lesser of two evils, always sided with the Norman kings, even despite their sufferings under the harsh **Forest Laws** instituted by William I, and the **Feudal Incidents**, such as aids, reliefs, wardship, marriage, and purveyance.

B. THE CONQUEROR AND THE CHURCH.

I. *William's Reforms in the Church.*

- i. **The English Church brought more closely into touch with Rome**—by the appointment of (1) **Lanfranc of Pavia** (Prior of Bec in Normandy) as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1070, with papal sanction in place of Stigand, and (2) other Norman bishops, whom he made *spiritual barons* by exacting homage from them for their lands, as from the temporal barons. Great reforms were then made in church discipline, learning and spiritual work.

Note.—Before the Conquest the English Church had been partly independent of Rome, its clergy unlearned, and its discipline very lax.

- i. **Pope Gregory VII's claim to England as a papal fief, 1076**—rejected by William on the ground that his predecessors had never recognized it.

Note.—Gregory's claim was in accordance with the new policy of the Church at Rome to get the ecclesiastical power recognized everywhere as superior to the temporal. *This policy was the root cause not only of the long continental quarrels between the Papacy and the Emperors, but also of the recurring difficulties between the Papacy and English kings during the next two centuries.*

- iii. **William's three rules of royal authority over the Church in England**—very important during the anti-papal struggles of later English kings.

Without the King's consent: (1) no Pope nor papal bull to receive recognition in England; (2) no Church laws to be introduced, and no synod to assemble in England; (3) none of his barons to be excommunicated.

II. *William's mistaken policy with the Ecclesiastical Courts.*

- i. **His permission to the Bishops, 1086**—allowing them to set up their own *Church courts apart from the civil courts*, for the trial of all ecclesiastical cases.
- ii. **Its mischievous results:** (1) The power and importance of the Church greatly increased, and the King's civil courts often robbed of their proper business. (2) The position of the Papal Court at Rome unduly enhanced as a supreme court of appeal. (3) The Church thus set against the Crown, and the way prepared for future struggles between them.

C. THE LAST YEARS OF WILLIAM'S REIGN, 1082-7.

I. *Completion of William's Feudal System.*

i. What the Feudal System was.

It was a system in which the whole land of the country was regarded as *the king's*, and was allotted by him in varying amounts, as his conquest of it proceeded, to *his nobles as tenants-in-chief*, on conditions of *feudal tenure*: (1) The king as lord paramount, to protect his vassals in their rights; (2) each vassal to give to the king (a) *military service* for forty days per year, at his own cost providing a number of knights proportionate to the size of his estate, and (b) *feudal dues* (aids, reliefs, &c.), to be yielded on certain occasions; (3) *tenants-in-chief* to have the right to let their lands to sub-tenants, and these to sublet again, on terms similar to the chief tenure.

Note.—In addition to the large feudal army raised by military tenure, William and his successors also kept up the *old English fyrd* or county militia, which they often employed against rebel barons.

ii. **The Domesday Survey, 1085**—due partly to William's desire to see whether the land-tax called Danegeld (renewed by him 1084, to provide against a threatened Danish invasion) was being fully paid.

Result—the **Domesday Book**, a detailed record of all taxable property in England except Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and part of Lancashire.

iii. **The Gemot and Oath of Salisbury, 1086**—by which the new Feudal System was completed. At this great meeting William exacted homage and an oath of fealty, not only from his *tenants-in-chief*, but also from all their *sub-tenants*. He thus secured to the English crown the control both of the barons and of all their feudal dependants, and provided a strong check upon baronial rebellions.

Note.—This control of sub-vassals was the chief distinguishing feature between the English and the continental feudal system.

II. *William's War with France, and his Death, 1087.*

i. **His invasion of France**—to avenge a gross insult offered him by Philip the French king. Mantes was burnt, but William was fatally injured by the fall of his horse.

ii. **Death of William soon after, at Rouen** (September 9), where he was buried.

III. *William's Work as King of England.*

- i. **A strong central government established**, by which the unification of England into one strong kingdom was greatly accelerated. This he achieved mainly (1) by his universal adoption of the Feudal System of land-tenure without the continental accompaniment of feudal government; (2) by the strict subordination of all his vassals and also of their sub-tenants under himself as king; (3) by his continuance of the English system of laws and law-courts, and the subordination of these through his *sheriffs* to his own **King's Court**; (4) by his continuance of the English fyrd or militia.
- ii. **The English Church reformed through Lanfranc** and linked more closely with Rome; but at the same time any papal supremacy over England denied.
- iii. **Separate ecclesiastical courts established** under the bishops and their archdeacons for the trial of all ecclesiastical cases.
- iv. **The Domesday Book compiled.**

IV. *Chief Results of the Norman Conquest.*

- i. A much closer intercourse with the Continent, followed by foreign wars and the need for a foreign policy.
- ii. The English Church brought into much closer but more subordinate connexion with Rome.
- iii. The royal power greatly increased by the king becoming not only sovereign but nominal owner of all the land.
- iv. The old English laws and institutions widely modified in course of time, though few new laws introduced besides the forest laws.
- v. Gradual change of the English Witenagemot into the Norman Magnum Concilium, consisting only of the tenants-in-chief, and having much less power.
- vi. All social conditions, and all the land, dominated by the feudal system, though, also, many new crafts and industries introduced, and foreign trade increased.
- vii. The Norman-French language introduced, causing losses to the English language, but greatly enriching its vocabulary. Also Norman-French manners and architecture introduced.
- viii. **Some evil results:** 1. The general confiscation of estates, including the turning of many *folc-lands into terra regis*, and the introduction of an alien aristocracy far more cruel and oppressive than the English nobles they displaced.
2. The harmful change wrought in the English land-system by the universal establishment of an alien system of land-tenure.
3. The degradation of the Witenagemot to a mere feudal assembly, and suppression of its old powers of national supervision.
4. The closer subordination of the English Church to the increasingly aggressive Papacy.
5. The enclosure of many royal forests under cruel and oppressive forest-laws.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM II (RUFUS), 1087-1100

- (i) **CHARACTER OF WILLIAM II.** He was strong-willed and capable-minded, but quite unprincipled. His whole life was one of vice and profanity; he was cruel, avaricious, extortionate, and tyrannical.
 - (ii) **HIS POLICY:** (1) to continue his father's policy of repressing the power of the Norman baronage, and of keeping the English on his side; (2) to gain Normandy, and as much of Wales and Scotland as he could.
-

I. *Early events of the Reign, 1087-9.*

- i. **Accession of Rufus.** On his father's recommendation and his own promise to rule with justice and mercy William was, through the influence of Lanfranc, elected as king by the Great Council. The Conqueror's eldest son, Robert, became Duke of Normandy.
- ii. **Rebellion of the Feudal Barons in favour of Duke Robert, 1088**—under Bishop Odo of Bayeux. William quickly suppressed the rebellion, however, with the aid of the English, whose support Lanfranc gained for him.
- iii. **Death of Lanfranc, 1089,** and appointment of **Ranulf Flambard as Justiciar**—an able but unscrupulous cleric of humble origin.

Note.—The Justiciar, a Norman official, was the king's chief minister, with charge of all the legal and financial affairs of the realm.

II. *Evil Administration of Flambard (1089-1100), and consequent Rebellion.*

- i. **Flambard's oppression** by (1) the extortion of the feudal incidents from the barons—often on false prettexts, (2) the continuation of vacancies in Church benefices—among them, the see of Canterbury for four years—and the appropriation of their incomes for the king's use; and (3) the heavy taxation of the people.
- ii. **Rebellion of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, 1095**—the result of William's tyranny and extortions. The king, however, was helped by the English, who feared local baronial tyranny more than royal exactions, and Mowbray was captured and imprisoned for life.

III. *William's Wars, 1090-7.*

- i. **His war with Robert.** 1. His invasion of Normandy 1090, and capture of several towns there. Robert made peace at Caen, 1091,

with William, and joined him in attacking their youngest brother, Henry.

2. **Robert's pledge of Normandy to William, 1096, for £6,666,** in order to join the **First Crusade**. As Robert did not return till 1100, William ruled Normandy till his own death.

Note on the Crusades. The First Crusade was a war of the Cross for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the infidel Turks, who had captured it from the Arabs. It was due to (1) the Turkish persecution of Christian pilgrims, and (2) the preaching of **Peter the Hermit** and **Pope Urban II**, which roused all Christendom against the Turks. *Of the Seven Crusades* (1096-1272) England was especially connected with three: the *first*, through Robert of Normandy and a number of English barons (1096-9); the *third*, through Richard I (1189-94); and the *seventh and last*, through Edward I (1270-4).

Effects of the Crusades on Europe: (1) increase of Church influence and wealth (by taxation, bequests of land, and endowments made by crusading princes and knights); (2) decrease of Feudalism by sale or mortgage of estates, to enable owners to join the Crusades; (3) increase of commerce between Southern Europe and the East; (4) extension of Eastern knowledge, industry, and arts over Europe; and (5) infusion of the spirit of religion and courtesy into the military chivalry of the time.

- ii. **William's War with Scotland.** 1. Invasion of England by Malcolm III in behalf of Edgar Atheling, 1091. William quickly drove back the Scots, made Cumberland a permanent English county, and fortified **Carlisle** to guard the north-west border.

2. Return of Malcolm, 1093—when he was slain at **Alnwick**.

3. William's aid given to Edgar, Malcolm's son, in the ensuing strife of parties (the Gaels and the Northumbrian-English) in Scotland. In 1097 Edgar became King of Scotland, and William's 'man'; and from this time *southern* Scotland became predominant in that country.

- iii. **His War with Wales**—caused by the encroachments on Welsh lands made by the Norman 'Lords Marchers', settled by the Conqueror on the borders. In 1094-5 the Welsh invaded England, and William made three unsuccessful attempts to repel them. He then allowed Norman barons to capture lands in South Wales, which thus became gradually settled by English and Normans. Castles were built at Rhuddlan, Bridgnorth, Monmouth, and Cardiff.

IV. *Rufus and Archbishop Anselm, 1093-7.*

- i. **The attitude of the Church to William**—friendly at first, under Lanfranc; but the king's rapacity alienated it from him.

- ii. **Anselm of Aosta elected to the Canterbury see, 1093**—vacant since Lanfranc's death. A serious illness frightened William into this step.
- iii. **William's two Quarrels with Anselm.** 1. About Anselm's visit to Rome, 1094, to receive his investiture from Pope Urban II. Anselm was supported by the Great Council at Rochester; but William supported the *anti-pope* set up by the Emperor, being, like his father, eager to check the encroachments of Rome upon royal authority (*antea*, p. 40).
- 2. About the number of knights William demanded from the archbishop's church-lands, for his Welsh war, 1097. Anselm refused to yield, and withdrew to Rome to appeal to the Pope.
- iv. **Death of William II, August, 1100**, while hunting in the New Forest.
- v. **The importance of the Reign**—due to
 - (1) William's successful suppression of the baronial struggles for feudal independence; (2) his increased feudal exactions through Flambard; (3) his successful policy towards Scotland, and his seizure of Cumberland; (4) the English settlement in South Wales; (5) his disputes with Anselm, and resistance to the papal claim for temporal power.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY I (BEAUCLERC), 1100-1135

- (i) **CHARACTER OF HENRY I.** He was more cool-headed and prudent than Rufus, though almost as immoral; he was greedy, self-seeking, and, like his father, cruel on occasion. His improvements in the administration, and his impartiality between Norman and English, earned him the title 'The Lion of Justice'.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** (1) To win popularity with all classes, and to control the barons with the aid of the Church, the English, and a strengthened administration. (2) Abroad, to win Normandy from Robert, to keep peace with Scotland, and to make alliances against the French king.

I. *Accession and Early Measures of Conciliation, 1100.*

- i. **Henry I's accession**—due to Robert's absence in the East, which enabled him to secure election by the Great Council.

ii. **His four Popular Acts**—to win over all classes :—

1. Imprisonment of Ranulf Flambard—though he soon escaped to Normandy.
2. Recall of Anselm.
3. **Issue of a Charter** promising :
 - (1) *to the Clergy*, to abolish the evils of the late reign ; (2) *to the Barons*, to demand only lawful dues and services ; and (3) *to the People*, to maintain the Confessor's Laws as improved by the Conqueror.
4. His marriage with a princess of English descent—Edith, daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling.

II. *Henry's Contest with his brother Robert and the Baronage, 1100–6.*

- i. **Robert's invasion of England, 1101**—supported by Flambard and many Anglo-Norman barons. Henry, aided by the English and the Church, soon forced Robert to surrender his claim to the throne in return for the Cotentin and 3,000 marks a year.
- ii. **Rebellion of Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1102–3.**

Henry captured from him his strongholds of Nottingham and Shrewsbury, and drove him to Normandy. The baronage was now subdued.

- iii. **Henry's invasion of Normandy, 1104–6**: on the pretext that Robert had sheltered refugees from England. At **Tenchebrai, 1106**, Henry and his English troops defeated and captured Robert and Edgar Atheling. Robert was imprisoned for life in Cardiff castle, and Normandy annexed to England.

III. *Henry's Dispute with Anselm about Investiture, 1100–7.*

- i. **Origin of the dispute**—in a decree of the papacy that no bishop or abbot should be invested in his office by a layman. Anselm, fresh from Rome, supported the decree ; but Henry, desiring, like his father and brother, to maintain regal control over church lands, rejected it.
- ii. **Settlement of the dispute by compromise, 1107**—by which Henry yielded his claims to invest prelates with ring and crosier, but preserved his right to receive homage for their lands.
- iii. **Death of Anselm, 1109.**

IV. *Henry's Reforms in the Administration, 1108–35 :*

with the aid of his *Justiciar Roger* (made Bishop of Salisbury in 1108).

- i. **Reform of the Hundred and Shire Courts**—largely disused under

Rufus. They were restored to regular activity, and their presiding officers, the sheriffs, placed under the direct control of the **King's Court** (*Curia Regis*). To link them closer to this central court *Itinerant Justices* (*Justices-in-Eyre*) were sent round the counties to inspect the sheriffs' work, and settle judicial and financial cases in the shire-courts.

ii. **The Curia Regis organized as an inner council of Magnum Concilium**—so as to secure control of the administration to the king's own officers, out of reach of the barons.

- (1) *Members of the Curia Regis*—(a) the chief state officers (Justiciar, Chancellor, Treasurer, Chamberlain); (b) the royal household officers (Steward, Constable, Marshal); and (c) a number of judges and clerks chosen by the king. (2) *Its functions*—(a) as the **Court of Exchequer** it managed the revenue; (b) as the **High Court of Justice** it controlled the judicial system; and (c) as the **Royal Council** (later Privy Council) it took the place of the Great Council as advisory body to the king.

V. Wars with Louis VI of France and William Clito, 1109–28.

i. Causes:

- (1) Louis' secret desire to gain Normandy and commence the *consolidation of France*, and (2) the claim of William, young son of the imprisoned Robert, to his father's dukedom—encouraged by Louis, Fulk Count of Anjou, the Count of Flanders, and others.

✓ ii. **The First War, 1109–13**, made under pretext of the Clito's claim by Louis, Fulk, and others; but closed by the *Treaty of Gisors*.

Note.—To strengthen himself against Louis, Henry in 1114 married his daughter **Matilda** to the Emperor Henry V.

✓ iii. **The Second War, 1117–20**, again in support of the Clito.

- (1) In 1118 Fulk detached from Louis by Henry marrying his son William to Fulk's daughter. (2) In 1119 Louis defeated at **Brenneville**, and forced to make peace. (3) In 1120 Prince William drowned in the *White Ship* while returning from the war to England.

✓ iv. **The Third War, 1123–8**, begun by Louis and Fulk, but unsuccessful.

- (1) Death of the Emperor 1125, followed two years later by Henry marrying the Empress Matilda to Fulk's heir, Geoffrey. (2) Death of the Clito 1128, and collapse of the wars.

VI. Henry I's dealings with Scotland and Wales.

- i. **With Scotland**: he kept always on friendly terms, being acknowledged as overlord by his three brothers-in-law, Edgar, Alexander I, and David, who reigned successively.

- ii. **With Wales:** he continued Rufus's plan of subduing the south by settlements. In 1122 he also reduced the north, *and then placed all churches in Wales under the see of Canterbury.*

VII. *Henry's Last Years and his Death.*

- i. **Henry's difficulties regarding the succession**—due, after his son's death, to the reluctance of his barons to being ruled over by a woman, his daughter Matilda. In 1126 he made them acknowledge her as his successor; but her Angevin marriage next year made her unpopular, the Normans hating the Angevins. In 1131 he persuaded them to renew their fealty to her; and again in 1133, after her son Henry's birth.
- ii. **Death of Henry I in Normandy, December 1, 1135**, a few months after Robert's death in Cardiff castle.
- iii. **The work of his reign.**
 - (1) A strong central system of administration established, which secured peace internally, and paved the way for Henry II's 'rule of law'.
 - (2) The development of the country advanced in many ways; (a) by the rapid fusion of the Norman and English races, (b) by trade-prosperity at home and abroad, (c) by the rise of more towns into importance, (d) by the increase of monasteries and the consequent encouragement of learning.
 - (3) French aggression checked and Normandy rejoined to England.
 - (4) Wales subdued, and South Wales further colonized.
 - (5) Scotland kept in friendly relations under English suzerainty.

CHAPTER V

STEPHEN, 1135-1154

- (i) **STEPHEN'S ACCESSION.** As a son of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, he secured his election to the throne by the Great Council through the aid of his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and the Church.
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER.** Though morally better than his uncle Henry, and brave and generous, he had no capacity as a ruler.

I. *Stephen's weak Rule, leading to Civil War, 1135-9.*

- i. **His chief opponents**—the Empress Matilda and her husband (who were in Normandy), her uncle, David I of Scotland, and her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester.
- ii. **His unwise policy and its result, 1135-8.** To keep his barons friendly he allowed them to build their own castles, and to some of

them he even granted royal castles. Private warfare thus arose among the barons, and soon developed into rebellion.

iii. **Stephen attacked by King David and Earl Robert of Gloucester, 1138.**

- i. **The Scottish invasion of the north**—met and defeated at **Northallerton**, in the **Battle of the Standard**, by the northern fyrd under Archbishop Thurstan of York. Stephen, however, weakly ceded Cumberland and Carlisle to David.
2. **The rising in the West**—suppressed by Stephen himself, and Earl Robert driven to Normandy.

iv. **His foolish quarrel with Bishop Roger of Salisbury, 1139**—due to his suspecting the loyalty of Roger (Henry I's great minister) and his two nephews (both bishops). Stephen had them arrested, and deprived the nephews of their sees. *Results:*

- (1) Alienation of the whole Church, including his brother Henry; and
- (2) arrival of Matilda and Earl Robert at Portsmouth to take advantage of the quarrel.

v. **Anarchy in the country henceforward:** the administration at a standstill, baronial exactions and cruelties practised on tenants, and neighbouring towns pillaged. In short, the worst evils of continental feudalism were realized.

II. *The Civil War, 1139-53.*

i. **Events and varying fortunes of the War.** 1. Stephen made prisoner before Lincoln by Earl Robert, 1141, and Matilda elected to be 'Lady of the English' at Winchester. Her arrogance, however, soon estranged the Londoners and many of the clergy.

2. Capture of Earl Robert, December 1141, and his exchange for Stephen.
3. Escape of Matilda from Oxford, while there besieged, 1142.
4. Death of Robert, 1147, and retirement of Matilda to Normandy, 1148.

ii. **Intervention of Matilda's son Henry, 1149-53.**

1. His first visit to England 1149-50, to take up his mother's cause. Being too young, he withdrew on his father's death, 1150.

Note.—In 1152 Henry married Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, and thus *acquired all the territory from the Loire to the Pyrenees.*

2. His return to England with a large army, 1153. Stephen, whose son Eustace had just died, offered but feeble resistance, and peace was soon made.

III. *End of the War, and Stephen's Death.*

i. **The Treaty of Wallingford, November 1153.**

- (1) Henry to be king after Stephen's death; (2) all the baronial castles

to be pulled down, the coinage to be reformed, good government restored ; and (3) the Church freed from unjust taxation.

ii. **Death of Stephen, October 1154.**

iii. **Character of the reign.**

The nineteen years of Stephen's reign proved a period of unprecedented misery and anarchy, and the only part of the long struggle then going on between territorialism and the monarchy when the feudal baronage gained the upper hand. Stephen's reign 'showed what feudalism meant when the barons got out of control'. It also showed the power of the Church, and witnessed its extension both in politics and in law.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST ANGEVIN, OR PLANTAGENET, KING, HENRY II, 1154-1189

TABLE OF HENRY II'S CHILDREN.

HENRY II = Eleanor of Aquitaine						
Henry (b. 1155 d. 1183)	Matilda (b. 1155) = Henry the Lion, D. of Saxony Otto IV, Emperor (1197-1212)	RICHARD I 1189-99	Geoffrey (b. 1158 d. 1186) = Constance of Brittany Arthur, d. 1203	Eleanor (b. 1162) = Alfonso IX of Castile Blanche = Louis VIII of France	Joanna (b. 1165) = William II, K. of Sicily	JOHN (b. 1167) 1199-1216 HENRY III 1216-72

- (i) HENRY'S ANGEVIN EMPIRE consisted of—(1) *England, Normandy, and Maine*, inherited through his mother; (2) *Anjou and Touraine*, through his father; (3) *Duchy of Aquitaine* (including *Poitou, Saintogne, Limousin, Auvergne, Guienne, Gascony*) obtained through his marriage. Henry II was thus one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe. His continental dominions were larger than England, and much more important in his eyes.
- (ii) HIS CHARACTER. Henry was a man of great ability, with a genius for government; a hard worker, and a lover of law and order. Morally he was not a good man, but prone to violent passion and degrading licence. Still, he was an efficient ruler, whose genius 'has left on the constitution of England its indelible marks'.
- (iii) HIS POLICY. 1. *In England*—to restore order, and to bring the baronage

again under the Crown. To do this he sought the help of franklins and commoners, i. e. landowners and freemen inferior in rank to the baronage.

2. *On the Continent*—to become the ruler of a great empire, and to consolidate his power by alliances with other European princes.

A. HENRY'S RESTORATION OF ORDER, 1152-62.

I. *His Measures to suppress Anarchy, 1154-8.*

i. His ministers.

As Justiciars he appointed two *laymen*, Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, and Richard de Lucy; as Chancellor, Thomas à Becket, hitherto a young deacon under Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury.

- ii. **Early measures:** (1) All royal lands and castles granted by Stephen were revoked. (2) All 'adulterine' castles (= those built by rebellious barons) were destroyed, and the coinage was improved. (3) Aided by the English fyrd he crushed the resistance of several powerful barons in the north and west.

- iii. **Scotland and Wales reduced, 1157.** (1) Malcolm IV of Scotland was made to surrender Cumberland, and to do homage as Earl of Huntingdon. (2) The two princes of Wales (north and south) were both compelled to submit.

- iv. **The Administration restored as in Henry I's days**—the machinery of the Curia Regis and the itinerant justices being fully re-established.

Results of Henry II's work to 1162:

- (1) The barons' feudal government broken up; (2) law and order restored; (3) the national revenue increased.

II. *Henry's early Foreign Affairs, 1154-62.*

- i. **Difficulties with his vassals and the French king**—raised through Louis VII's jealousy and baronial revolts in Normandy and Aquitaine.

- ii. **His War about Toulouse, 1158-9:** caused by Henry's claim to Toulouse through his wife. It was important only because connected with Scutage.

- iii. **General institution of Scutage or Shield Money, 1158:** by which Henry allowed his feudal barons to pay money instead of giving military service.

Important Results:

- (1) Hired troops, more efficient than a feudal army, began to be regularly employed in foreign wars; (2) the barons became less war-

like and disorderly ; (3) the decline of feudalism began, both from the check now given to military service in land-tenure, and from the example of *commutation* set for the lower ranks of feudalism to follow.

B. HENRY'S STRUGGLES WITH THE CHURCH, AND HIS CONQUEST OF IRELAND, 1162-72.

I. *Henry's attempted Reform of the Church Courts. Becket's Opposition, 1163-4.*

i. **Evils of the Ecclesiastical Courts of William I**—developed chiefly during the anarchy of Stephen's reign :

(1) Insufficient punishment of 'criminous' clerics ; (2) undue increase of Church power by the encroachments of its courts upon the functions of the civil courts ; (3) a greatly increased number of appeals to Rome on questions of property as well as of faith and morals ; (4) great additions, through these courts, to Church revenues—now more than the revenue of the Crown.

ii. **Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry, 1162**—on Theobald's death—in hope of his greater assistance in reforming these evils.

But Becket, a zealous man, always whole-hearted in the service of whomsoever employed him, now resigned his chancellorship, and devoted himself entirely to the Church as its champion and defender against the king.

iii. **His acts of resistance to Henry, 1163** : leading to a rupture.

(1) He opposed Henry successfully in the Great Council about a land-tax ; (2) he excommunicated a certain baron without the king's leave ; (3) he resisted Henry's proposal to have clerics punished in the king's court when convicted of crime in a bishop's court.

iv. **The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164** : a series of sixteen ecclesiastical proposals (based on previous custom) made by Henry in the Great Council at Clarendon.

The chief points were :—(1) Clerics accused of civil offences to be tried in the king's courts ; (2) no clergy to go abroad, no appeals to be made to Rome, and no royal vassal to be excommunicated, *without the king's leave* (as under William I's rules) ; (3) prelates to be liable to all the feudal burdens of lay barons ; (4) prelates to be elected in the king's chapel, and do homage before investiture.

To these Constitutions Becket at first gave consent, but soon withdrew it and appealed to the Pope. King and archbishop were now foes.

II. *Becket's Quarrel with Henry and its Results, 1164-72.*

i. **Course of the Quarrel, 1164-70.** 1. Becket charged before the Great Council at Northampton, October 1164, with certain illegalities.

He refused to plead, but fled to France, where until 1170 Louis VII and others used him as a means of attacking Henry.

2. The Coronation of Prince Henry 1170 (by Archbishop Roger of York), as his father's heir in England. Becket, angered that his right to perform the ceremony had been ignored, instigated the Pope to threaten Henry with an interdict. A formal reconciliation ensued, and Becket returned to Canterbury, whence he at once issued an excommunication of Archbishop Roger and the bishops assisting at the coronation.
- ii. **Murder of Becket, December 29, 1170**, in Canterbury cathedral, by four of Henry's knights, who thought to do the king a service.
- iii. **Consequences of the murder.**
 - (1) All Christendom shocked; Becket sainted as a martyr by the Pope, and his shrine made famous throughout Europe. (2) Henry proclaimed as a murderer and threatened with excommunication by the Pope; also continental hostility renewed against him. (3) In 1172 the Constitutions of Clarendon formally abandoned, though their chief points received tacit recognition.

III. *The 'Conquest' of Ireland, 1166-72.*

- i. **Condition of Ireland in twelfth century.** It was divided into several petty kingdoms, among which was constant strife for supremacy. In 1154 Pope Hadrian IV (an Englishman) had issued a Bull empowering Henry II to conquer Ireland; but he had not carried it out.
- ✓ ii. **Appeal of Dermot, King of Leinster, to Henry, 1166**—for aid against O'Connor, king of Connaught. Henry allowed **Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke**, to go to his support with a number of Anglo-Norman barons, and they restored him to his throne. On his death, 1171, Strongbow became king of Leinster.
- iii. **Henry II's annexation of Ireland.** 1. His voyage thither, 1171, to escape the trouble from Becket's murder. Strongbow and most of the Irish chiefs did him homage as 'Lord of Ireland'.
2. The **Synod of Irish bishops** summoned at **Cashel, 1172**, where Henry persuaded them to submit the Irish Church to the authority of Rome.
- iv. **Henry's reconciliation with the Pope, 1172**: made by securing the submission of the Irish Church, by humbling himself before the papal legates at Avranches, and by renouncing the Constitutions of Clarendon.

C. HENRY'S STRUGGLES WITH HIS BARONS, HIS SONS, AND FRANCE, 1172-89.

I. *Henry's Legislation, 1154-73.*

- i. **The Grand Assize (or Great Law)**—made early in the reign. It instituted an important development of the **Jury System** by substituting it for the old Norman 'wager of battle' to settle land-disputes.
- ii. **The Assize of Clarendon, 1166.** In its twenty-two articles the chief points were: (1) re-establishment of the old English **Jury of Presentment**, consisting of sixteen sworn men—*origin of modern Grand Jury*, (2) the royal sheriffs to have the right of entering any baron's court or estate in search of criminals—a special source of irritation to the barons.
- iii. **The Inquest of—or Inquiry concerning—Sheriffs, 1170.** As a *result* of the inquiry many sheriffs, guilty of malpractices, were removed and trustworthy officers from the Exchequer put in their places.

II. *Rebellion of the Barons and Henry's Sons, 1173-4.*

i. **Causes:**

- (1) Henry's legislation (as above) to reduce the barons' feudal power; (2) the unruly ambition of his three elder sons for positions of greater power—instigated by their mother Eleanor; (3) the unceasing opposition of the French king to Henry's schemes of empire; (4) the *immediate cause*—Henry's attempts to provide domains in France for his youngest son John, which angered his other sons and also Louis VII.

- ii. **Events of 1173.** (1) Rising of Henry's sons—Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey—aided by Louis VII, the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and many English and Norman barons. (2) In *Normandy* Henry quickly defeated the rebels and expelled Louis VII from the duchy. (3) In *England* the Justiciar de Lucy and the fyrd defeated the rebel barons at **Bury St. Edmunds**.

- iii. **Events of 1174.** (1) Invasion of the north by William the Lion of Scotland, and second rising of East Anglian barons, expecting Prince Henry to land from Flanders. (2) Hasty return of Henry to London (July), stopping on his way at Canterbury to do penance at Becket's tomb. News there reached him of the defeat and capture of the Scots king at **Alnwick** by the loyal northerners. The rebellion then collapsed. (3) *Treaty of Falaise, December 1174*, in which Henry (a) made peace with Louis VII; (b) pardoned his sons and most of the rebel barons, but (c) compelled William the Lion to become his vassal for Scotland.

iv. Results:

- (1) *End of the Hundred Years' Feudal War* (1075-1174) of the baronage against the power of the monarchy (*antea*, p. 39); (2) gradual ranging of the barons on the side of law and order as Henry's legislation became understood.

Note.—Until now, the development of the royal power was needful for checking both clerical aggression and baronial independence. Later, that power became a tyranny against which clergy and barons had to combine, e.g. in the reigns of John, Henry III, and even Edward I.

III. *Further Legislation of Henry II, 1176-89:*

aided by Ranulf de Glanville, and issued chiefly to strengthen the central administration and check disorder.

- i. **The Assize of Northampton, 1176**—amending the Assize of Clarendon and the duties of itinerant justices.
- ii. **Institution of the Court of King's Bench, 1178**—as a separate branch of the Curia Regis for hearing cases of appeal from the shire courts.
- iii. **Reorganization of Itinerant Justices, 1179**—under Glanville as Justiciar.
- iv. **The Assize of Arms, 1181**—to reorganize the national fyrd. Every freeholder was ordered to provide arms and armour for himself according to rank.
- v. **The Saladin Tithe, 1188**—imposed to enable Henry to go (though prevented by rebellion) on **the Third Crusade** to recapture Jerusalem from Saladin, the Moslem conqueror of Palestine.

Note.—This was the first tax on *personal*, as distinct from *real*, property.

IV. *Henry's further Quarrels with his Sons, 1183-9.*

- i. **Second revolt of Princes Henry and Geoffrey, 1183**, against their father and Richard. Prince Henry, however, died 1183, and Geoffrey 1186.
- ii. **Revolt of Richard, 1188**—in alliance with young Philip II of France. They expelled Henry's forces from Anjou and Touraine, and next year were joined by John. Henry was then forced to terms near Tours.
- iii. **Death of Henry II, July 1189**, at Chinon—heart-broken through shame.

V. *Summary of the Work of Henry II.*

- i. **Constitutional.** (1) His institution of Scutage dealt a great blow at feudal military power, as did his initiation of the rule of law to

feudalism generally. (2) He reorganized the Norman system of *central* administration, and linked with it the old English system of *local* administration, by means of the Curia Regis and the itinerant justices. (3) He practically established the Jury System, and through it enlisted *local* freemen on the side of law. (4) He made the Great Council more important and useful by frequent meetings, and thus prepared it for future development into Parliament.

- ii. **Ecclesiastical.** The power of the Church was restricted and its relations with the State were more closely defined.
- iii. **Foreign.** (1) The first conquest of Ireland and the reconquest of Scotland were made. (2) A foreign policy and a permanent connexion with European politics were first given to England by Henry II.

CHAPTER VII

RICHARD I (THE LION-HEART), 1189-1199

- (i) **RICHARD'S ELECTION** by the Great Council, as Henry II's eldest surviving son. His coronation was marked by a massacre of Jews in London, followed by similar massacres, owing to false reports of his approval, at Norwich, Lincoln, York, and other places.
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER.** He was very fond of splendour, but extravagant, passionate, and selfish; brave and skilful as a soldier, but loving glory in warfare too much to be a good king mindful of his duties at home.
- (iii) **HIS POLICY:** (1) to secure faithful ministers who would govern during his absence, and keep him supplied with money; (2) to keep his brother John and Philip II of France from getting any of his power.

A. PERIOD OF CRUSADE AND IMPRISONMENT, 1189-94.

I. *Richard's Preparations for the Third Crusade, Sept.-Dec. 1189.*

- i. **His methods of raising money for the expedition:** (1) Offices, crown lands, and dignities sold to ambitious men, and charters of rights and liberties to towns; (2) money extorted from the Jews; (3) Scotland's independence restored to William the Lion for 100,000 marks.
- ii. **His arrangements for the government.** (1) He made his young nephew, Arthur of Brittany, his heir; (2) gave his brother John several earldoms and a rich heiress, Hadwisa of Gloucester, in

marriage, and (3) appointed William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, as Justiciar, and regent along with Queen Eleanor. In December 1189 he started on the Crusade via Normandy and Marseilles.

II. *England under Justiciars, harassed by Prince John, 1190-4.*

- i. **Under William Longchamp, 1190-1:** who proved unpopular owing to his arrogance, and was forced to resign by the Great Council led by Prince John.

The Council's action is noteworthy, because it formed a precedent for future Great Councils in claiming *control of ministers*.

- ii. **Under Walter de Coutances, 1191-4:** who gave to London its first charter of incorporation. He and Queen Eleanor thwarted Prince John when plotting to get chief power.

III. *Richard on the Crusade, and in Prison, 1190-4.*

- i. **His journey and marriage, 1190.** He joined Philip of France in Sicily; and in Cyprus he married Berengaria of Navarre (brought thither by his mother).
- ii. **His deeds in the East, 1191-2.** (1) His capture of Acre, which provoked quarrels with Leopold of Austria and Philip, who returned home. (2) His conquest of other towns from Saladin. He would have reached Jerusalem but for dissensions among the leaders, and disease among the troops. (3) His truce with Saladin, and departure overland for England, on hearing news of his brother's plots with Philip to seize his dominions.
- iii. **His imprisonment in Germany, 1192-4.** Being captured by Duke Leopold while passing through Austria, he was sold to the Emperor Henry VI, who imprisoned him and claimed a ransom of £100,000.
- iv. **Rebellion of John, 1193**—in alliance with Philip. Several royal castles were seized, and certain barons won over; but a strong majority opposed him.
- v. **Richard's ransom and return, 1194**—the ransom being raised by Queen Eleanor by heavy taxes on land and personal property. On Richard's return in March, John fled to France; but was soon forgiven.

Note.—The failure of the rebellion is striking proof that Henry II's 'initiation of the rule of law' was producing *a new national spirit among the baronage*.

**B. PERIOD OF RICHARD'S SECOND ABSENCE ABROAD,
1194-9.**

I. Administration of Hubert Walter as Justiciar, 1194-8.

- i. **Richard's second departure from England, 1194**—for Normandy, to attack Philip. Recognizing the great ability of Hubert Walter, who had organized the late Crusade, he made him Archbishop of Canterbury and Justiciar.
- ii. **The important work of Walter as Justiciar.** (1) *The Visitation of Justices*, 1194—a commission of judges sent to all the counties to reorganize the grand juries and shire courts, and to elect new officers called **Coroners** to take over part of the sheriffs' duties. (2) A new land-tax levied 1198, and in each county *representative juries elected* for the fair assessment of the tax.
Note.—Walter's system of elected representatives for counties gave political training to the *county gentry*, and prepared the way for their class to become future national representatives in Parliament.
- iii. **Revolt of the Londoners against Walter's taxes, 1195**—led by William FitzOsbert. It was suppressed and the leader executed.
- iv. **Resignation of Walter as Justiciar, 1198**—in consequence of the successful opposition by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, to Walter's attempt to levy further money for Richard's support in Normandy. **Geoffrey FitzPeter** now became Justiciar.

II. Richard's Campaign in France, 1194-9.

- i. **His victories over Philip**—at **Fretteval**, 1194, and **Gisors**, 1195. He then made a league against him with the Emperor Otto IV and others.
- ii. **His death at Chaluz, April 1199**—while besieging a vassal.
- iii. **The importance of his reign.**
 - (1) Richard's long absences from England allowed time for Henry II's reforms of government to take root and develop.
 - (2) Hubert Walter's developments of the representative system formed the foundation of the system of representative Parliaments begun in the next century.
 - (3) England's *first great maritime expedition* was successfully carried out by Hubert Walter, 1189-93, to take Richard's army to Palestine; and the first naval regulations for the English fleet were then issued.

CHAPTER VIII

JOHN (LACKLAND), 1199-1216

- (i) **AT JOHN'S CORONATION**—Archbishop Walter declared the English Crown *elective*, and John to be chosen as the first and strongest member of the royal house. His rival was his young nephew Arthur, son of Geoffrey.
- (ii) **JOHN'S CHARACTER.** He had all the bad characteristics of the Angevin kings, without any of their redeeming qualities. Though able, he was passionate, self-indulgent, cruel—one of the worst of English kings.
- (iii) **HIS POLICY.** He was too passionate and reckless to have any sustained policy. Vengeance, rather than statesmanship, prompted the actions of his later reign.

TABLE OF JOHN'S CHILDREN.

(1) Hadwisa = JOHN = (2) Isabella of Angoulême		1199-1216			
Joan = Llewellyn of Wales	HENRY III 1216-72	Joanna = Alexander II of Scotland	Eleanor = (1) William, E. of Pembroke; (2) Simon de Montfort	Isabella = Frederick II, Emperor (1212-50)	Richard, E. of Cornwall, and K. of the Romans (d. 1271)
	EDWARD I 1272-1307				Edmund, E. of Cornwall

A. JOHN'S WARS WITH FRANCE AND LOSS OF NORMANDY, 1199-1205.

I. *His First War with Philip*, 1199-1200.

i. Causes:—

(1) Philip's permanent hostility to English kings so long as they held dominions in France; (2) his support of Arthur of Brittany against John.

ii. **Events.** John invaded France, but Philip, then involved in a papal quarrel, made peace 1200, by which he recognized John as king of England.

II. *Second War with Philip, and consequent Loss of Normandy*, 1201-5.

i. Causes:—

(1) John's marrying Isabella of Angoulême (betrothed to Count de la

Marche in Poitou) after divorcing his first wife Hadwisa, 1200; (2) the count's appeal to Philip for redress.

- ii. **Events.** 1. John's refusal to recognize Philip's right to intervene, followed by Philip declaring his lands in France forfeited, and giving his aid to Arthur. Queen Eleanor was then besieged in Mirabeau castle by Arthur, who was captured by John, and mysteriously died, 1202.
2. Invasion of Normandy by Philip, aided by Norman and Breton barons, and welcomed by the Norman people. By 1204 he had captured the last Norman stronghold, the Château Gaillard, and by 1205 he held all lands north of the Loire.
- iii. **Results of the loss of Normandy.**

- (1) It was the reversal of the Norman Conquest. Henceforward the interests of the English kings and barons were centred in England, not in France. (2) Thus a united English nation and state gradually developed.

B. JOHN'S STRUGGLE WITH THE PAPACY, 1205-13.

I. Beginnings of the Struggle, 1205-7.

- i. **Death of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1205**—followed by a dispute, as to his successor, between the monks and bishops connected with Canterbury. The younger monks elected Reginald, their sub-prior; but King John nominated de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who was supported by the elder monks and the bishops. Both parties appealed to Rome.
- ii. **Intervention of Pope Innocent III,** and ultimate election of **Stephen Langton**, an Englishman. On his consecration, 1207, John angrily refused to accept him.

II. The Course of the Struggle, 1207-13.

- i. **England placed under an Interdict by the Pope, 1208**—to which John retorted by seizing the lands of all clergy who supported the Pope.
- ii. **Excommunication of John, 1209**—followed by remarkable activity on his part. He seized further church-lands, and tyrannized over the barons; he forced William the Lion of Scotland to do him homage (1210); reduced Wales to submission, and restored order to Ireland.
- iii. **Deposition of John proclaimed by the Pope, 1211**—and entrusted to Philip of France to execute. John at once leagued with his nephew, the Emperor Otto IV, the Count of Flanders, and others

who like himself were resisting the papal claims to temporal supremacy.

- iv. **John's sudden surrender to the Pope, 1213**—due to his discovery that Philip would have the support of many English clergy and barons. He consented:

- (1) to receive Langton and compensate the clergy for his late attacks.
(2) to hold England as a fief of the papacy, and (3) to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 marks.

The Pope now recalled his commission to Philip, who in anger turned his armaments against Flanders.

C. JOHN'S QUARREL WITH THE BARONS, CLERGY, AND PEOPLE, 1213-16.

I. *John's attempt to recover Normandy, 1213-14:*

by help of his allies.

- i. **His dispatch of a Fleet, 1213**—to assist the Count of Flanders against Philip. The French fleet was defeated at **Damme**.
ii. **His levy of an army for France**—resisted by most of the barons and bishops, who were now becoming, under the influence of their new leader Langton, united with the commoners against John's tyranny.

- iii. **Two Assemblies of the Great Council, 1213.** 1. **The Council of St. Albans (August)**, due to the influence of Geoffrey FitzPeter, the Justiciar. Besides barons and bishops, representatives were summoned from each town on the king's demesnes. FitzPeter promised John would rule according to Henry I's Charter.

Note.—This Council, as the first to include *townsmen*, marks an important step towards a *representative national assembly*.

2. **The Council of St. Paul's (August 25)**, at which Langton read Henry I's Charter as the standard of the nation's demands.

- iv. **Death of FitzPeter, October 1213**—John's only link with the barons. **Peter des Roches**, Bishop of Winchester—a Poitevin hated by the barons—was made Justiciar.

- v. **John's invasion of France, 1214, with two armies:** (1) in the NE. under his allies Otto IV and the Count of Flanders, aided by an English force under the Earl of Salisbury; (2) in the S. under himself, with the design of attacking Philip on both sides. Philip, however, defeated the allies at **Bouvines**, near Lille (July 1214).

Result of Bouvines:

John compelled to make a truce with Philip and return to England, where the barons and clergy under Langton's lead were soon able to force him to terms.

II. *The forced grant of Magna Carta, 1215.*

- i. **John's attempts to divide barons from clergy :** by concessions to the latter and by taking the vows of a Crusader. Langton and the barons remained firm, however ; the baronial forces gathered at Stamford, and, marching south, were welcomed by the Londoners. Faced by a national revolt, John yielded to the demands of Langton supported by barons, clergy, and people.

- ii. **Magna Carta signed by John at Runnymede, June 15, 1215.**

Its chief clauses (sixty-three in all) related to all classes and conditions :—

1. *Relating to the Church :* All its rights and liberties to be secured.
2. *Relating to Barons and tenants :* (1) Abuses in feudal incidents to be reformed ; (2) no scutage, nor aid (beyond those for ransoming the king, knighting his eldest son, or marrying his eldest daughter) to be levied without consent of the Great Council.
3. *Relating to the Constitution :* The Great Council to be called for granting extra aids, and to consist of (a) archbishops, bishops, abbots, and greater barons, summoned by separate writ, and (b) the lesser barons summoned by writs through the sheriffs.
4. *Relating to Justice and Laws :* (1) No freeman to be tried or punished except by his equals or the law of the land ; (2) justice not to be sold, denied, nor delayed ; (3) the Court of Common Pleas to be in a fixed place—at Westminster ; (4) the forest-laws to be reformed.
5. *Relating to Traders and Towns :* (1) Merchants and foreigners to have free passage through the land ; (2) London and other towns to retain their rights.
6. *To safeguard the Charter*—a baronial committee of twenty-five was named by the king, to compel him to observe its provisions.

- iii. **Character and importance of the Charter.** (1) It contained very little that was new ; but the rights and liberties of the Church, Baronage, and Commons were for the first time set down in writing, and could now be appealed to in future disputes. (2) The Great Council was recognized as part of the constitution, and a great step taken towards *Parliamentary* government. (3) It was made by succeeding generations the foundation of English liberties : the basis on which all subsequent developments of the constitution have been built.

III. *The Consequent War between John and his Barons, 1215-16.*

- i. **Papal aid secured by John**—on the ground that the Charter had been forced from him. Innocent III annulled the Charter, and suspended Langton.
- ii. **War made upon the Barons by John**, and the country plundered as far as Berwick by his mercenaries.

iii. **Louis of France (son of Philip) elected King of England**—by the barons. He had married John's niece.

iv. **Death of John, October 1216**—at Newark, of peaches.

v. **Great importance of the reign**, due to—

- (1) the loss of French territory north of the Loire, paving the way for the national development of England; (2) the subjection of England to papal 'temporal' supremacy and a yearly tribute; (3) the Great Charter of English liberties—secured as a result of the first combination of the nation as a whole against the king. ✓

BOOK IV

THE PERIOD OF THE RISE AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE LATER ANGEVIN, OR PLANTAGENET, KINGS, 1216-1399

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK IV (*antea*, p. 32)

Note.—Where no reference pages are given, it is intended that the student should consult other text-books, as he should also do generally, of course.

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Fusion of Normans with the English stock, and growth of the idea of *nationality* [ch. I, pp. 67, 68, 71; ch. II, pp. 72-6; ch. III, p. 78; ch. IV, pp. 82, 85, 87].

2. Beginning of the flow of Celtic Welsh eastwards into England after the conquest of Wales, 1285; but unimportant before Period VI.

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land and the Feudal System.** (1) *Further checks* upon feudalism [ch. I, p. 67; ch. II, pp. 72, 73-4; ch. III, p. 79; ch. IV, pp. 83, 86-7; ch. V, pp. 89, 92]. (2) Rise and growth of *enclosures*. (3) Break-down of feudal serfdom, and rise of the *tenant-farmer* [ch. II, p. 72; ch. IV, pp. 83, 87; ch. V, pp. 89, 90].

2. **Society.** (1) Development of the *middle classes* [ch. I, pp. 68-70; ch. II, pp. 72, 74; ch. III, p. 79; ch. IV, pp. 83, 85, 87; ch. V, p. 89]. (2) Development of *towns* [ch. I, p. 70; ch. II, p. 74; ch. III, p. 79]. (3) Rise of *communist ideas* [ch. IV, p. 89]. (4) *Social restrictive laws* [ch. IV, pp. 83, 84, 85; ch. V, p. 91].

3. **Commerce and Industries:** (1) their development [ch. II, pp. 73, 76; ch. IV, pp. 82, 84, 85, 87]. (2) Commercial laws [ch. IV, p. 84].

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) Rise of the *Universities* of Oxford and Cambridge, and spread of learning amongst the *Friars* [ch. I, p. 71]. (2) Revival of the English language and literature [ch. IV, pp. 85, 87], after their struggle with the Norman-French.

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Spread of the **Friar movement** to England, and temporary increase in the number of devout and patriotic churchmen [ch. I, pp. 69, 71].

2. Spread of the **spirit of chivalry** under the influence of the Church during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

3. Increase of **papal and clerical wealth in England** [ch. I, p. 68; ch. II, p. 72; ch. IV, p. 86], and resistance to it, shown by kings and people [ch. I, p. 69; ch. II, p. 72; ch. IV, pp. 84, 86].

4. **Spiritual decline** and corruption of the **Church** [ch. IV, pp. 86, 87 ; ch. V, pp. 88-9].

5. Consequent rise of the **movement for church-reform under Wyclif** [ch. IV, pp. 86, 87 ; ch. V, pp. 89, 91].

6. **Clerics as royal ministers and statesmen** [Des Roches, Rich, Boniface, Kirkby, Burnell, Stratford, Wykeham, Arundel].

(iv) **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **Territorial expansion.** (1) Wales annexed [ch. I, p. 73]. (2) Scotland temporarily annexed [ch. II, pp. 74, 75-6]. (3) Parts of France conquered [ch. IV, pp. 83, 84].

2. **Territorial losses.** (1) In Scotland [ch. III, p. 78 ; ch. IV, pp. 80, 82]. (2) In France [ch. I, p. 68 ; ch. IV, p. 86].

3. **Rise of political parties among the barons**, seeking to control the central administration [ch. III, pp. 77, 78, 79 ; ch. IV, pp. 86-7 ; ch. V, pp. 90-1].

4. **Resistance** (1) to royal favouritism, and (2) to royal tyranny, resulting in the increased political power of the baronage [(1) ch. I, pp. 67-9 ; ch. III, pp. 77-8 ; ch. IV, pp. 86-7 ; ch. V, p. 90 ; and (2) ch. I, pp. 70-1 ; ch. II, p. 75 ; ch. V, pp. 92-3].

5. **Foreign relations.** (1) *French hostility* to England [ch. II, pp. 74-5 ; ch. III, p. 79 ; ch. IV, p. 82] ; and (2) the *Hundred Years' War* to conquer France [ch. IV, pp. 82, 84, 86 ; ch. V, pp. 88, 89, 91]. (3) *Scottish hostility* [ch. II, pp. 74-6 ; ch. III, pp. 78, 79] ; in alliance with France [ch. II, p. 74 ; ch. IV, pp. 82-3 ; ch. V, p. 88]. (4) Relations with the *Papacy* [ch. I, pp. 66-7, 68, 71 ; ch. II, p. 75 ; ch. V, pp. 88, 91]. (5) With the *Empire* [ch. I, p. 68 ; ch. II, p. 75 ; ch. IV, p. 82]. (6) With *Flanders* [ch. II, p. 75 ; ch. IV, pp. 82-3, 85]. (7) With *Castile* [ch. II, p. 73 ; ch. IV, pp. 81, 85-6 ; ch. V, p. 90]. (8) With the *Crusades* [ch. I, pp. 67, 71 ; ch. II, p. 71].

(v) **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **Evolution of Parliament** as representative of the **Three Estates** [ch. I, pp. 68, 70, 73 ; ch. II, p. 74 ; ch. III, pp. 79-80].

2. Growth of the **powers of Parliament: its control of** (1) taxation [ch. I, pp. 68-70, 71 ; ch. II, pp. 74, 75 ; ch. IV, pp. 83, 84 ; ch. V, pp. 88, 92] ; (2) legislation [ch. I, pp. 69, 70 ; ch. II, p. 72 ; ch. III, pp. 77, 79 ; ch. IV, pp. 84, 87 ; ch. V, pp. 88, 91] ; (3) ministers [ch. I, pp. 68-70 ; ch. III, pp. 77, 79 ; ch. IV, pp. 82, 87 ; ch. V, pp. 88, 90-1, 92] ; (4) the special rights of the Commons [ch. IV, pp. 83-4, 87] ; (5) the Church [ch. II, pp. 72, 74 ; ch. V, p. 91] ; (6) expenditure [ch. V, p. 89] ; (7) the kingship [ch. III, p. 79 ; ch. V, pp. 92-3].

3. Growth of **Law and Justice** [ch. II, pp. 72, 73, 74, 75 ; ch. IV, pp. 84, 85, 86 ; ch. V, pp. 91, 92].

4. Improvement in the **Military System** [ch. II, p. 72].

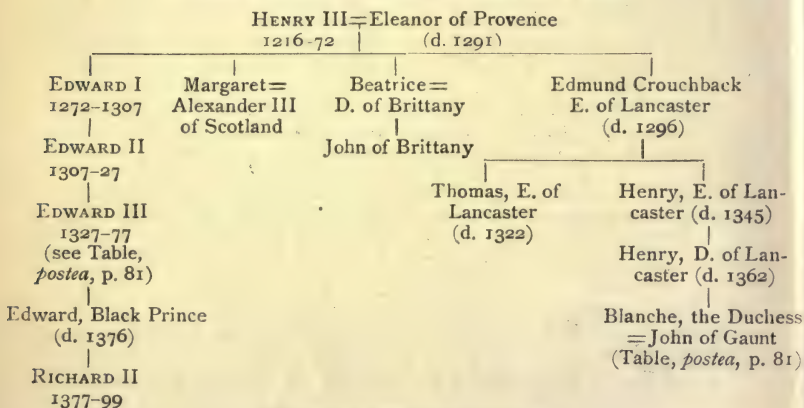
5. **Naval defence** [ch. I, p. 66 ; ch. IV, pp. 82, 86].

CHAPTER I

HENRY III, 1216-1272

- (i) **HENRY'S CHARACTER.** As he grew up he showed none of his father's vices; but he lacked the Angevin capacity for ruling. While pious and devoted to the Church, and to his wife, he was faithless to his word, tyrannical, extravagant, and fond of favourites.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY**—to recover the lost provinces in France, to secure absolute rule through the aid of foreigners, and to please the Pope.

TABLE OF THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS.



A. THE REGENCY, 1216-32.

I. *Under William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, 1216-19.*

- i. **Henry's Accession**—at the age of nine. John's Marshal, the **Earl of Pembroke**, was made Regent by a Council of barons, with **Gualo**, the papal legate, as Henry's spiritual guardian. At the coronation, at Gloucester, many barons deserted Louis.
- ii. **Double defeat and withdrawal of Louis, 1217.** (1) 'The **Fair of Lincoln**' (May), a battle won by the Marshal over Louis' supporters. (2) Naval battle **off Dover** (August), in which Louis' fleet bringing reinforcements was defeated by **Hubert de Burgh**.

(3) *Treaty of Lambeth* (September), and withdrawal of Louis to France.

- iii. **The new Charter of the Forest, 1217**—issued with the renewal of *Magna Carta*.
- iv. **Death of Pembroke, 1219.**

II. *Under Hubert de Burgh, 1219-31.*

- i. **The new administration**—consisted of de Burgh, made Justiciar, **Pandulf**, the new papal legate, and Peter des Roches, Poitevin Bishop of Winchester and Henry's guardian.

De Burgh's policy was to expel John's foreigners from power, a policy which made des Roches his enemy but secured the support of Langton (restored to Canterbury, 1218) and many bishops. Against him he had Falkes de Breauté and John's foreign mercenaries, and also certain English barons led by William of Aumâle.

- ii. **Suppression of the rebel barons**—Aumâle being forced to surrender, 1221, while de Breauté was expelled from England, 1224, and many followers were executed.
- iii. **End of the King's minority, 1227**—followed by his dismissal of des Roches, who went away on a Crusade till 1231.
- iv. **Death of Langton, 1228, and commencement of papal exactions.** These were due to the great cost of Gregory IX's war with the Emperor Frederick II for possession of Naples and Sicily. The Pope demanded from both the clergy and laity one-tenth of their incomes. The laity, led by the Earl of Chester, refused to pay.
- v. **Return of des Roches, 1231, and fall of de Burgh, 1232.**

Note.—After de Burgh's fall the importance of the Justiciar gave place to that of the Chancellor, owing to the development of the latter's functions in the *Curia Regis*.

B. HENRY'S FAVOURITISM, EXTRAVAGANCE, AND MISRULE, 1232-58.

I. *The Sway of Aliens in England, 1232-58.*

- i. **The Administration under des Roches, 1232-4.** 1. **Influx of many Poitevins and Bretons**, to whom Henry gave important posts in Church and court.
- 2. **Resistance of the English**—led by **Richard Marshal**, Earl of Pembroke, and, when he was treacherously slain in Ireland, by **Edmund Rich** (Langton's successor at Canterbury). By the latter Henry was forced to dismiss des Roches and the Poitevins from office, 1234.

- ii. **The Administration under other aliens, 1234-58.** 1. **Influx of Provençals and Savoyards** in consequence of Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence, 1236. To these Henry gave rich heiresses in marriage, and all vacant posts in Church and state. Their chief leaders were the queen's three uncles, William of Valence, Peter of Savoy, and Boniface of Savoy—the last, made Archbishop of Canterbury when Edmund Rich died, 1241.
2. **Evil administration of these aliens**—ignorant or regardless of English institutions and customary laws. Unrest and disorder prevailed many years.

II. *Heavy Financial Burdens of the Country.*

- i. **The increased papal exactions from England**—with Henry's willing assent—to support the wars for aggrandizing the temporal power of the Papacy. The three chief means of exaction from the Church were :—
- (1) *Provisors*, i.e. grants of English benefices to papal officers and servants living at Rome.
 - (2) *Annates, or First Fruits*, i.e. payments to Rome of a cleric's first year's income from his benefice.
 - (3) *Direct taxes*, of varying amount, on the incomes of the clergy.
- Note.*—In some years the Pope's revenue from England was more than the king's.
- ii. **Henry's expenditure for foreign conquests:** (1) On attempts to recover his father's lost French provinces. He was defeated at **Taillebourg** and **Saintes** in 1242, and finally lost Poitou. (2) *On Sicily*, the crown of which he accepted from the Pope in 1254, for his younger son Edmund. He then allowed the Pope at his expense to wage war (1254-7) in order to wrest it from the Emperor.

III. *Growth of a Parliamentary Opposition to Henry, 1232-58.*

Increasing importance of the Great Council—owing to its being the only means, now that the Curia Regis was in the hands of foreigners, of bringing resistance to bear on the king. *It was during this period that it first came to be called Parliament*, and that knights of the shire attended it.

- ii. **Efforts of Parliament to gain power**—through control of the king's ministers. From 1232 began a long period of resistance on the part of barons and prelates to Henry's demands for money. Lists of grievances were presented, and futile attempts made to gain control of state officers in return for money grants: the principle being now first advanced that *those who paid the taxes should have some control over the administration which spent them*. But, owing to lack of a strong leader before 1257, the opposition was ineffective.

- iii. **Causes leading to the crisis of 1258.** (1) Henry's partiality for, and gifts to, his foreign favourites. (2) His connivance at the Pope's exactions; and his fruitless foreign wars. (3) His own exactions and extravagance, and the tyranny of his alien officials. (4) His indebtedness to the Pope on account of the war in Sicily (see *above*). In 1257, owing to papal threats of excommunication, he urged Parliament to pay the debt (then 140,000 marks) for him; but the barons refused. (5) Rise of a leader among the barons, 1257, in **Simon de Montfort**.

Note.—Simon de Montfort was the youngest son of a famous Provençal who, through a maternal uncle, held the title of Earl of Leicester. In 1236 young Simon came to England to claim the earldom (given him on his father's death), and Henry III granted his claim. In 1238 he married Henry's sister Eleanor, widow of Richard Marshal (*antea*, B. I). Through friendship with Edmund Rich, Bishop Grossetête, and other patriotic men, he sided with the barons in Parliament, 1244–8. He was sent by Henry to be governor of Gascony, 1248–53, but returned to England owing to certain false charges made against him by the Gascon barons. He was dismissed by Henry, 1254. By 1257 he had become the acknowledged leader in Parliament.

C. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN HENRY AND THE BARONS UNDER DE MONTFORT, AND ITS RESULTS, 1258–72.

I. *Government under the Provisions of Oxford, 1258–63.*

- i. **Assembly of the Great Council in London, April 1258**—which, led by de Montfort and Richard Clare, Earl of Gloucester, again refused to pay Henry's debt to the Pope, and forced him to call a Parliament at Oxford.
- ii. **The Mad Parliament of Oxford, June 1258**—at which Henry was forced to agree to a new constitution known as **the Provisions of Oxford**:
 - (1) A Standing Council of Fifteen to be chosen to advise the king and control his ministers; (2) three Parliaments to be held each year, consisting of only twenty-seven members—the above council and twelve others—to control all laws, taxation, and state affairs; (3) two separate committees of twenty-four to be appointed, one to reform financial, the other general, grievances.
- iii. **Flight of the Aliens, 1258**—after refusing to recognize the new government.
- iv. **Events leading up to Civil War, 1259–63.** (1) Disunion among the barons—due to the selfish policy of the oligarchy, and to the ambitious rivalry of the leaders. (2) Henry's repudiation of his oath to observe the Provisions, 1261—after having obtained absolution from the Pope. (3) Death of the Earl of Gloucester, 1262—leaving de Montfort sole leader.

II. *First Period of Civil War, 1263-5.*

- i. **Outbreak of the Barons' War, 1263**—but both parties soon agreed to submit their quarrel to the arbitration of Louis IX of France.
- ii. **The Mise of Amiens, January 1264**—by which Louis decided against the Provisions of Oxford, and restored the control of government to Henry. Backed by London and the Cinque Ports, de Montfort and his friends refused to accept the decisions, which covered points beyond their commission. Civil war was renewed.
- iii. **The Battle and Mise of Lewes, May 1264.** Henry and his son, Edward, marching towards the Cinque Ports, were defeated at **Lewes**, and compelled to sign the **Mise of Lewes**. By this—
 - (1) All disputed matters were to be settled by arbitration ; (2) all aliens to be excluded from office ; and (3) Prince Edward and his cousin to be held as hostages.

iv. **The Government of Simon de Montfort, 1264-5.** 1. A Parliament summoned, June 1264, which drew up a new form of government with de Montfort at its head, but with the nation in ultimate control, as he wished.

2. **De Montfort's famous Parliament, 1265**—to which, through the king, were called a number of barons, bishops, and abbots, together with two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from each town, which was in favour of Leicester and his party.

Note.—Though thus not a complete Parliament, yet this assembly was very important as (1) the first Parliament in which town-representatives were called to sit, and (2) the model for Edward I's complete Parliament of 1295.

3. **Battle of Evesham and death of de Montfort, 1265.** Through jealousy of his power and disgust at the arrogance of his sons, de Montfort before long lost the support of the young Earl of Gloucester and many barons. Prince Edward escaped and defeated him at **Evesham** (August 14), where the great earl was killed.

III. *The Second and Last Period of the Civil War, 1266-7.*

- i. **The Dictum of Kenilworth, 1266**—made by Prince Edward with a party of de Montfort's followers whom he besieged in Kenilworth. They were freed on submission and payment of fines.
- ii. **The war closed by the Statute of Marlborough, 1267**—in which Parliament secured for the nation the chief reforms demanded by the rebels.
- iii. **Some effects of the great struggle :—**

- (1) De Montfort and his friends had made it impossible for a tyrannical king again to rule in England, and they had advanced by a long

step the ideal of a *national* form of government ; (2) the aliens had been finally driven from the kingdom ; (3) papal exactions had been effectively checked, and royal taxation made subject to the approval of the national council ; (4) de Montfort's national policy was continued by Edward when he became king.

IV. *Closing Years of the Reign, 1268-72.*

- i. **The Seventh and last Crusade under Louis IX of France (1270-4)**—joined by Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and Gloucester with many other barons.
- ii. **Death of Henry III, November 16, 1272**—after four years of profound peace.
- iii. **Important features of the reign.**
 1. The attempts of the papacy to rule England through Henry ; and its enormous exactions of money until checked by the civil war.
 2. The development of Parliament from the feudal Great Council, and growth of its power, as results of (1) Henry II's work ; (2) Magna Carta ; (3) the papal and royal exactions ; (4) the influence of good and patriotic men, such as Langton, Rich, Grossetête, Adam Marsh, and de Montfort.
 3. The final exclusion of foreigners from power, and the development of a national feeling.
 4. **The 'Coming of the Friars'** (Dominicans and Franciscans) into England—due to the decay of spirituality among the monks. In the constitutional struggle of the reign the friars by their religious zeal exercised a great influence for good upon de Montfort and other barons, as well as upon *popular* opinion.

CHAPTER II

EDWARD I, 1272-1307

- (i) **EDWARD I's ACCESSION:** he was proclaimed in the Parliament as king while away from England on Crusade.
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER.** In person tall, strong, and handsome, he was a brave knight, a skilful commander, and an excellent ruler. He was religious, and faithful to his word ; but stern in punishing evil-doers. For his many reforms in our laws and institutions he has been called 'the English Justinian'.
- (iii) **HIS POLICY.** (1) **Domestic:** to be a truly *national* king by uniting the nation under good laws which all classes should share in making.
(2) **Foreign:** to improve England's position in Europe, and for this purpose to extend its supremacy over all the British Isles.

A. PERIOD OF LEGISLATION AND OF THE CONQUEST OF WALES, 1272-90.

I. *Edward I's Legislation, 1274-90:*

to systematize English law.

- i. **The First Statute of Westminster, 1275:** a summary of law-reforms.
- ii. **The Statute of Gloucester, 1278**—which authorized the judges to issue **writs of Quo Warranto**, to inquire *by what warrant* the barons held their rights of private jurisdiction. The inquiry was strongly resisted.
- iii. **The Statute of Mortmain, or de Religiosis, 1279**—which in effect forbade the acquisition of further lands by the Church. This dealt a severe blow at the power of the Church.
- iv. **The Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284**—regulating the work of the Exchequer Court.
- v. **The Second Statute of Westminster (including the Statute of Entail), 1285**—revising the old, and creating new, laws. One of the latter was the **Statute of Entail or De Donis Conditionalibus**, which established the system of perpetual entail in land-tenure.
- vi. **The Statute of Winchester, 1285**—to amend Henry II's Assize of Arms (*antea*, p. 55) by improving (a) the system of national defence, and (b) the laws against thieves and robbers.
- vii. **The Third Statute of Westminster, or Quia Emptores, 1290**—to prevent lands passing, by sub-infeudation, out of reach of the crown. This dealt another blow to feudalism.

II. *Edward's Judicial Reforms.*

- i. **The Courts** (county, hundred, and manor) greatly improved, and also the **circuits of assizes** for the judges.
- ii. **Judges of Nisi-Prius instituted, 1285**—for trial of *civil* suits thrice a year.
- iii. **The three Judicial Courts of the Curia Regis**—Exchequer, Common Pleas, and King's Bench (*antea*, p. 55)—placed under separate presidents and judges.

Note.—**Robert Burnell**, Edward's great Chancellor, assisted him very materially in all his legislative and judicial reforms.

III. *The Conquest of Wales, 1275-85.*

- i. **First War against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, 1275-7.**
Caused by
(1) his evasion of homage to Edward, (2) Edward's refusal to allow him

to marry de Montfort's daughter Eleanor. After two campaigns Edward, supported by Llewellyn's brother David, forced him to terms in the *Treaty of Conway*, 1277.

✓ ii. **Second War against Llewellyn, 1282-5.**

Caused by the harshness of Edward's officials in north Wales.

Llewellyn was now joined by his brother; but he was slain in battle near **Builth**, 1282. David's capture and execution in 1283 ended the war.

- iii. **Annexation and Settlement of Wales** by (1) the **Statute of Wales, 1284**, which divided N. Wales into shires, and established English laws and courts everywhere; (2) the building of strong castles in N. Wales; and (3) the proclamation of Edward's new-born son at Carnarvon, as Prince of Wales.

IV. *Events from 1286-90.*

- i. **Edward's absence in France, 1286-9**, when he improved his French possessions by reforming the administration, fortifying towns, and promoting commerce.
- ii. **Edward's expulsion of Jews from England, 1290**, and confiscation of all their property—done partly to please the clergy, who condemned Jewish usury.
- iii. **Death of Queen Eleanor (of Castile), 1290, and of Edward's chief ministers**—Lord Treasurer Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, 1290, and Chancellor Burnell, Bishop of Bath, 1292.

B. **EDWARD'S CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND, AND HIS CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1290-1307.**

I. *Re-establishment of Suzerainty over Scotland, 1289-92.*

- i. **Edward's position with regard to Scotland, 1272-90**: merely that of liege-lord to the Scottish kings for their feudal lands in England. The English suzerainty had been surrendered to William the Lion by Richard I.
- ii. **Events in Scotland, 1286-90.** 1. Death of Alexander III, 1286, leaving the crown to his little grand-daughter Margaret, 'the Maid of Norway'.
2. **The Treaty of Brigham, 1289**, made by Edward I with the Scottish regency, betrothing his heir, Prince Edward, to the Maid.
3. Death of the Maid, 1290, on her way from Norway; and appearance of several claimants to throne, the chief being **John Balliol**, **Robert Bruce**, and **John Hastings**—all descended from David I.

- iii. **The Award of Norham, 1292**—by which Edward I, on appeal by the Scots to him as their overlord, gave his decision in favour of Balliol.

II. *Edward's difficulties with Scotland, France, and Wales, 1292-5.*

- i. **Those with Scotland, 1292-4** : due to Edward's attempts to make his nominal suzerainty over Scotland, which Balliol had acknowledged, into a real one, which Balliol resented and, in 1293, began plotting to annul.

- ii. **Those with France, 1292-6** : due

- (1) to the jealousy of the French king, Philip the Fair, towards Edward as ruler of Aquitaine, and (2) to the frequent fights between English and Norman-French sailors in the Channel.

Resulting from these a quarrel arose between Edward and Philip ; warlike preparations were made, and continental alliances formed.

- iii. **Those with Wales, 1294-5** : due to a Welsh revolt, which was, however, quelled in 1295 by the capture of Madoc, son of Llewellyn.

- iv. **Alliance between France and Scotland against Edward, 1295.**

The alliance, thus begun, lasted for three centuries and resulted in

- (1) the Scots imitating French manners and politics, instead of those of England as hitherto ; and
(2) their assisting France in every quarrel with England down to Reformation times.

III. *The First Complete and Model Parliament, 1295.*

- i. **Causes of its being summoned :—**

- (1) the exhaustion of Edward's funds granted by Parliament in 1294 ;
(2) his desire to raise money as extensively as possible for his impending wars with Scotland and France ; and (3) his recognition of the constitutional principle—that which touches all should be approved by all.

- ii. **Composition and importance of this Parliament**—in which the *Three Estates of the Realm* were properly represented for the first time.

- (1) *The Lords* were represented by the earls and greater barons ;
(2) *the Clergy*, by the bishops and abbots as well as by the representatives of the lesser clergy ; and
(3) *the Commons*, by two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from each town.

Note.—By his method of summoning this Parliament Edward established the modern system of Parliamentary representation of the three estates ; but it was not till 1322 that the Commons' right to share in legislation with the other two estates was finally established (*postea*, p. 79).

IV. *Edward's First Conquest of Scotland, 1296.*

- i. **His victory at Dunbar (April) over the Scots**—which was followed by Balliol's submission to Edward, and deposition (July).
- ii. **His assumption of direct control over Scotland**—after receiving at Berwick the homage of the Scots barons and clergy. He then appointed the Earl of Warrenne as 'Guardian of Scotland'. The Scottish Coronation Stone was later removed from Scone (Perthshire) to Westminster Abbey.

V. *Edward's Quarrel with Clergy and Barons over Taxation, 1296-7.*

- i. **Resistance of the Clergy to his demands, 1296**—in a full Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds. Led by **Archbishop Winchelsea**, and fortified by the papal bull '*Clericis Laicos*', they refused to grant further subsidies to the king for his French war. Edward therefore outlawed them and forced them to submission.
- ii. **Resistance of the Barons, February 1297**—at Salisbury. Led by the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford they refused—lawfully—to go on military service to Gascony.
- iii. **Edward's resort to illegal measures, 1297**—urged by his pressing need of money.

(1) He ordered the seizure of all merchants' wool and hides at the sea-ports; (2) he levied the *fyrd* for service abroad; and (3) on starting to join his allies in Flanders, he ordered further taxes to be levied and sent there.

- iv. **The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297**—forced by the barons and clergy from Prince Edward, as regent, before they would pay the new taxes. The **Confirmatio Cartarum**, signed by the King at Ghent (November), renewed the Great Charter and the Forest Charters, and also promised *that no taxes, aids, nor seizure of goods should be again ordered without consent of Parliament.*

Note.—Confirmatio Cartarum forms a landmark in English history, because it finally deprived the Crown of the *legal* power to tax arbitrarily.

VI. *The War with France, 1297-9.*

- i. **Failure of Edward's expedition to Flanders, 1297**: owing to the inactivity of his allies, the Emperor and several German princes. Hearing of Wallace's rebellion, he made a truce with Philip IV and returned home, 1298 (see *below*).
- ii. **The Treaty of Chartres, 1299**—by which peace was restored, and Philip's sister Margaret was married to Edward. In 1303 Philip's daughter **Isabella** was betrothed to **Prince Edward**.

VII. *Edward's Second Conquest of Scotland, 1297-1305.*

- i. **Wallace's rebellion, 1297**—while Edward was absent in France. Warrenne was defeated at **Cambuskenneth**, near Stirling, and then Wallace invaded England.
- ii. **Edward's gradual reconquest of Scotland.** 1. In 1298 he returned from France, and defeated Wallace at **Falkirk**.
 2. The Scottish nobles, jealous of Wallace, now formed a regency under **John Comyn** and **Robert Bruce** (grandson of the claimant). In 1299 they captured Stirling castle, and in 1303 defeated the English at **Roslyn**.
 3. In 1304 Edward himself retook Stirling castle, and overthrew the regency.
 4. In 1305 Wallace was captured and executed.

iii. **Edward's new scheme of government for Scotland :**

- (1) A separate Council was formed under an English governor with power to amend the laws ; (2) Scottish representatives were to attend the English Parliament ; and (3) the rebel nobles were to be pardoned on payment of fines.

VIII. *Edward's Third Conquest of Scotland, 1306-7.*

- i. **Rebellion of Robert Bruce, 1306**—after murdering John Comyn at Dumfries. Bruce was crowned at Scone as king of Scotland (March 1306) by the nobles.
- ii. **Defeat of Bruce at Methven, 1306**—by the Earl of Pembroke. Edward then returned to Scotland and suppressed the revolt with great severity.
- iii. **Second rising of Bruce, 1307**—taking advantage of Edward's harsh measures.

IX. *Death of Edward I, 1307.*

- i. **Fourth invasion of Scotland by Edward, 1307**—which was stopped by his death at Burgh-on Sands near Carlisle (July).
- ii. **Summary of Edward I's work.**
 1. To Edward I we owe the establishment, on a basis which has remained essentially permanent, of our laws, our judicature, and above all our Parliament. Moreover, by his laws he dealt another heavy blow to feudalism, restrained the political power of the Church, and promoted the growth of commerce.
 2. He was the first English king to bring *all Great Britain* under his direct control—Wales permanently, but Scotland only in such a way as to result in three centuries of Scottish hostility to England.
 3. He won for England a prominent position in the affairs of Europe.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD II, 1307-1327

- (i) **CHARACTER OF EDWARD II.** Weak and pliable, Edward was always under the influence of favourites and courtiers. He was idle, selfish, and obstinate, and his love of pleasure led him into great extravagance. His ultimate deposition and death were direct results of his own faults and follies.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** As in the case of all weak men, Edward had no *consistent* aims. He threw away the advantages accruing from his father's wise policy; and he made so many enemies among his barons by his foolish choice of friends and advisers that a strong opposition party grew up against him and the party at his court.

**A. EDWARD II'S STRUGGLES WITH THE EARL OF
LANCASTER, 1307-22.**

I. Edward II, Piers Gaveston, and the Lords Ordainers, 1307-12.

- i. **Edward and Gaveston.** On the death of his father, whom he had accompanied to Scotland, Edward returned southward, leaving the Earl of Pembroke in charge of the war. He then recalled **Piers Gaveston**, his Gascon favourite (whom his father had banished), and made him Earl of Cornwall. Next year he made him regent, while he himself went to France to marry Isabella, daughter of Philip IV (*antea*, p. 75).
- ii. **Formation of an opposition led by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster** (Edward's cousin) against Gaveston—whom they forced the king to banish. He made him Lord-Deputy of Ireland, but next year recalled him to court.
- iii. **The Lords Ordainers and the Ordinances, 1310-11.** (1) A *Council* of twenty-one Lords Ordainers appointed by Parliament 1310, to control the king's household and the affairs of the realm. (a) The *Ordinances* drawn up by them, 1311, based on the Provisions of Oxford. They provided for:—
 - (a) reform of abuses, and better administration of the law-courts, and
 - (b) fuller control of royal and state officers through Parliament, which was to meet at least once a year. Parliament confirmed the Ordinances and then banished Gaveston.

Note.—The great weakness of the Ordinances was that, like the

Provisions of Oxford, they ignored the Commons, and transferred government to a baronial oligarchy.

- iv. **Gaveston's murder, 1312**—Edward having recalled him. Lancaster and others took up arms, captured him in Scarborough castle, and executed him near Warwick.

II. *Edward II and Scotland, 1313-22.*

- i. **Bruce's gradual recapture of the Scottish strongholds**—as a result of Edward's neglect of his father's policy. By 1313 only Stirling castle was left in English hands, and that was besieged by Bruce.
- ii. **Edward's expedition to Scotland, 1314**—made without Lancaster and his supporters, who refused to accompany him. Marching to relieve Stirling, he was utterly routed at **Bannockburn** by Bruce, June 24, 1314. *Results:*
 - (1) Establishment of an independent kingdom in Scotland, which was a source of annoyance and harm to England for nearly 300 years;
 - (2) supremacy of the Lancastrian party in England until 1322.
- iii. **Frequent Scottish invasions of England and Ireland, 1314-22**, especially—(1) their capture of Berwick 1318, and victory at **Myton** (Yorks.) 1319; (2) the conquest of northern Ireland by Edward Bruce (Robert's brother), who ruled there as king until his defeat and death at Dundalk, 1318.

III. *Edward II, Lancaster, and the Despensers, 1314-22.*

- i. **The Supremacy of Lancaster, 1316**—as a result of the renewed party struggles after Edward's disgrace at Bannockburn. He had no capacity for ruling, however, and his bad administration brought on great disorder.
- ii. **Rise of Hugh Despenser and his son, 1317**—two barons who, prompted by ambition and greed, joined the court party and soon became Edward's favourites. The loss of Berwick (see *above*), a discredit to Lancaster's rule, made them powerful; but their rapid acquisition of lands and wealth enabled Lancaster to induce Parliament to exile them, 1321.
- iii. **Outbreak of Civil War, 1321**—caused by a reaction against Lancaster, of which Edward and his party took advantage. (1) At **Bridgnorth**, 1321, Edward defeated the Mortimers of Chirk, Lancaster's supporters. (2) At **Boroughbridge**, March 1322, a northern army, raised for the king, defeated and captured Lancaster. He was tried by Edward and executed at **Pontefract** castle. (3) *Consequences of Lancaster's execution:—*
 - (a) He was (unworthily) set up as a saint by the clergy, and regarded as a champion of the people's rights; (b) his followers continued

active to end of reign, and there remained, with intervals, a Lancastrian or other disloyal party until 1485.

B. EDWARD'S RENEWED FAVOURITISM, AND HIS DOWN-FALL, 1322-7.

I. The Parliament of York, 1322.

- i. **A full Parliament summoned by Edward at York**—after Boroughbridge—containing representatives of all three estates of the realm.
- ii. **Its work.** (1) The Lords Ordainers and the Ordinances of 1311 abolished. (2) A resolution then passed declaring the important constitutional principle *that all matters concerning the whole realm must be dealt with by a Parliament containing representatives of the Lords, Clergy, and Commons.*

Note.—This resolution is the complement of the work of 1295. It established the joint and equal right of all three estates to share in the national government.

II. Edward's Second Expedition to Scotland, 1322-3.

- i. **Failure of the expedition**—due to the Scots avoiding pitched battles, and harassing the English advance. It ended by a truce with Bruce, 1323.
- ii. **Reaction against the King**—owing to his own incapacity, and the insatiate greed of the Despensers, whom he had recalled. Disorder and disaffection were renewed among all classes of his subjects.

III. Conspiracy of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, 1325-7.

- i. **The Queen's mission to France, 1325.** In 1322 the new French king, Charles IV, summoned Edward to do homage, on pain of forfeiting his possessions in France. Edward sent his son Prince Edward with the Queen, 1325, to act in his behalf. Mortimer (*antea*, A. III) was already in France.
- ii. **Intrigues of Isabella and Mortimer in France**—against Edward and the Despensers. Edward's half-brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, was persuaded to join them.
- iii. **Their invasion of England and its consequences, 1326-7.** Landing at Orwell in Essex, 1326, they found many supporters. The Despensers were captured and executed in the west; the king was imprisoned, and his mother made regent. Then in January 1327, in a full Parliament, Edward was deposed, and his son

declared king as Edward III. Mortimer and Isabella were now supreme.

- iv. **Murder of Edward II, September 21, 1327**—at Berkeley castle, Gloucestershire—to prevent any reaction in his favour.

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD III, 1327-1377

- (i) **CHARACTER OF EDWARD III.** Though an able commander and a splendid knight, he was not a great statesman like his grandfather. He was learned and accomplished, but too fond of the gorgeous ritual of chivalry.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY**—was often both short-sighted and selfish. He sought to increase his territory, to improve Parliament, and to foster trade and industries rather in order to raise money for military glory and courtly display than to benefit his people. Therefore his reign, while marked by developments in constitution, commerce, and industries, closed amid grave social discontent.

A. THE FIRST DECADE, 1327-37.

I. *Administration of Mortimer and Isabella, 1327-30.*

- i. **A Council of Regency appointed by Parliament**—as the young king was only fourteen. It was largely controlled by the queen and Mortimer (now Earl of March).
- ii. **The Treaty of Northampton, 1328**—made with the Scots after Mortimer had failed to repel their invasions.

The treaty recognized the complete independence of Scotland, and thus made the regency very unpopular.

- iii. **Arrogance and Fall of Mortimer.** Having, in his scheming for power, brought about the execution of Edmund, Earl of Kent (the king's uncle), plots were formed against him. In 1330 he was arrested at Nottingham castle, and executed by order of Edward. The young king, already married, now ruled as well as reigned.

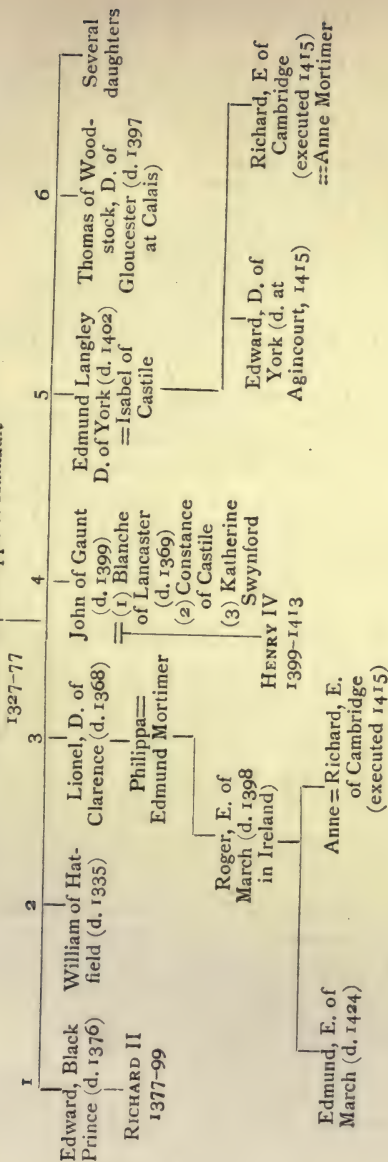
II. *Edward III's Relations with Scotland and France, 1330-7.*

i. **Affairs in Scotland.**

- (1) Death of Robert Bruce, 1329; and accession of his young son, David.
- (2) Invasion of Scotland by Edward, son of John Balliol, supported

TABLE OF EDWARD III'S CHILDREN.

EDWARD III = Philippa of Hainault



by certain English nobles who had lost their lands in Scotland. (3) Victory of Balliol at **Dupplin Moor** (Fife), 1332, and coronation, after acknowledging Edward III's suzerainty. (4) Balliol driven to England, 1333, by the Scots.

ii. **Edward III's interference in Scotland, 1333.** (1) His defeat of the Scots at **Halidon Hill**, capture of Berwick, and restoration of Balliol to throne. Flight of David Bruce to France. (2) Balliol again driven from the throne, 1334, by the Scots, who, aided by Philip VI of France (1328-50), thwarted all Edward's efforts to restore him. (3) David II firmly re-established on Scottish throne by 1338.

iii. **Philip VI's provocative policy against Edward, 1333-6:** in order to win Aquitaine.

(1) Help given to the Scots against Balliol, and the English wool-trade with Flanders interrupted, 1333-4; (2) Gascony invaded, and ships sent to plunder the Isle of Wight, 1336.

iv. **A war inevitable and alliances formed.**

(1) *Edward's allies*—Robert of Artois; the rulers of Hainault, Holland, and Brabant; James van Artavelde, and the rebellious Flemish manufacturing towns of Ghent, Bruges, &c.; the Emperor Lewis IV. (2) *Philip's allies*—the kings of Scotland, Sicily, Navarre, and Bohemia; and the Count of Flanders.

B. RISE OF EDWARD III'S POWER IN FRANCE, 1337-60.

I. The Hundred Years' War with France (1337-1453): First Period, 1337-47.

i. Summary of Causes.

1. *General*:—(1) Edward III's energy, and ambition to rule France, (2) the desire of both Parliament and king to extend England's commerce, and secure the Flanders trade. 2. *Immediate*:—(3) Philip's provocative policy since 1333 (see *above*), and (4) Edward's assumption of the title of King of France in 1337—to please his Flemish allies.

ii. Edward's invasion of France through Flanders, 1338-40.

1. **His first campaign, 1338-9**, and siege of Cambrai, fruitless.

2. **Second campaign, 1340**: (1) Victory over French fleet off **Sluys** (Flanders), by which he gained command of the Channel and North Sea. (2) *The Truce of Esplechin* (September) with Philip, which lasted five years.

iii. **Edward and the Parliament of 1341.** To procure much-needed subsidies the king conceded to Parliament important rights securing to it control of his ministers, but on getting the money he annulled the concessions.

Note.—In 1332-3 the knights of the shire had first deliberated with the burgesses from the towns *apart from the Lords*, and **by 1341 the separation of Parliament into Lords and Commons had become permanent.**

iv. The Campaigns of 1345-7: Auberoche, Crécy, Neville's Cross, Calais.

1. **1345**—Victory of the Earl of Derby, sent to repel Philip's attacks on Gascony, at **Auberoche** (June).
2. **1346**—Victory of Edward, invading Normandy to divert the French from Gascony, at **Crécy** (August 16). *Due to*—
 - (1) the English nobles, gentry, and yeomanry fighting side by side ; (2) the skill of the English archers ; and (3) the impatience of the French nobles in attacking.
- 1346 also**—Invasion of northern England by David Bruce to draw Edward from the **siege of Calais**, which followed Crécy. Bruce defeated at **Neville's Cross** (October), and captured by Queen Philippa's army.
3. **1347** (August)—**Capture of Calais** by Edward. This port was valuable as
 - (1) a mart for English trade with Flanders ; (2) a gateway to France ; and (3) a naval base for suppression of the Channel pirates.
- 1347 also**—Expulsion of the French from Gascony by Derby, who was created **Duke of Lancaster** for it.

II. The Black Death and its Results, 1347-51.

- i. **Its course over the Continent and England.** Reaching Constantinople in 1347 from China through India, it spread rapidly over all Europe. In 1348-9 it ravaged England, destroying half the population of four millions.
- ii. **Social and political Results of the Black Death.**

A revolution was wrought in the economic conditions of England, causing: (1) a general scarcity of labour and a rise in wages ; (2) attempts of Parliament to regulate wages by the *Statutes of Labourers*, 1349-51, which (a) fixed wages at the scale prevailing before the pestilence, (b) restricted peasants to their native manors, and (c) allowed landlords to enforce *labour-service instead of rent* from tenants ; (3) disputes and enmity between landlords and their tenants and labourers ; (4) the ultimate emancipation of the serfs ; and growth of enclosures and sheep-farming, as well as of leasehold tenant-farming.

III. Growing Importance of Parliament. Its Legislation, 1349-55.

- i. **The causes of the growth**—lay in the king's need of money for the wars, and in the regularity of Parliament's assembly to grant subsidies.

Note.—The increased importance accrued to the Commons rather than to the Lords. Several valuable constitutional rights were gained during the reign in return for subsidies.

ii. Parliamentary legislation, 1349–55.

1. **Against Papal exactions:**—(1) *The Statute of Provisors* (1351), forbidding acceptance by aliens of papal appointments to benefices in England. (2) *The Statute of Praemunire* (1353), forbidding appeal to any judicial court outside the realm (i. e. to Rome).
2. **Protecting the upper classes generally:** (1) *The Statute of Treasons* (1352), which, by defining exactly what were breaches of the oath of allegiance, protected the barons from indefinite charges of treason. (2) *The Statute of the Staples* (1354), which, by stating the staple or market towns where the chief commodities such as wool, fells, leather, tin, and lead could alone be sold, protected the merchants.
3. **Against the peasants and labourers**—the *Statutes of Labourers* (1349–51).

IV. *Renewal of the War: Second Period, 1355–60.*

- i. **The Black Prince's invasion of Southern France, 1355–7:** both sides being to blame for the renewal of war. (1) In 1355 mid-France was plundered as far as the Rhine by the Black Prince from Bordeaux. (2) In 1356 his plundering northwards was intercepted at **Poitiers** (September 19) by the French, but King John was defeated and captured, with a great host of nobles. A two-years' truce followed.
- ii. **Edward III and Scotland, 1355–7.** (1) Berwick was captured by the Scots, for which Edward ravaged the Lothians during Candlemas 1356. (2) A treaty was made, 1357, by which King David was ransomed, and Berwick restored by the Scots.
- iii. **Edward's campaign in France, 1359–60:** to force the Dauphin, now regent, to make peace.
 1. In October 1359 France was invaded by Edward with 100,000 men; the north ravaged; Rheims and Paris were invested; but Edward was thwarted by a severe winter.
 2. **The Treaty of Brétigni, May 1360,** with the Dauphin. *Terms*—
 - (1) Edward to renounce all claims to the French crown, to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; but in return (2) to receive *full sovereignty* over all Aquitaine, as well as Calais and Ponthieu; (3) King John to be ransomed for three million crowns. (He died in London, 1364, unransomed.)

Note.—Edward made Aquitaine into a principality, and gave it to the Black Prince, whom he created Duke of Aquitaine.

C. THE HEIGHT AND DECLINE OF EDWARD'S POWER IN FRANCE AND AT HOME, 1360-77.

I. *Tokens of National Development, 1360-9.*

- i. **Growth in commerce and manufactures**—fostered by Edward and his wife, Philippa of Hainault, throughout the reign. English cloth-making was thus founded by Flemish wool-workers settled by them in Norwich and East Anglia.
- ii. **Growth of a National Feeling**—resulting from the combination of all classes in the wars against France and Scotland. This feeling was shown by several proceedings in Parliament :—
 - (1) In 1362 the *English language* was ordered to be used in the law-courts. (2) In 1365 the *Statute of Praemunire* was renewed (*antea*, p. 84), and John's annual tribute to the Papacy annulled. (3) In 1366 the *Statute of Kilkenny* was passed, forbidding English colonists in Ireland either to intermarry with the native Irish or to adopt their language, customs, laws, or dress.

II. *The Black Prince and Pedro the Cruel, 1366-8.*

- i. **Policy of the new French King Charles V**—to embroil the Black Prince, as ruler of Aquitaine, in difficulties with his allies or subjects.
- ii. **Overthrow of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile**—by Henry of Trastamara, aided by French forces. Pedro then appealed for help to the Black Prince, his ally, 1366.
- iii. **The Black Prince's expedition into Spain, 1367-8** : and his overthrow of Trastamara and the French at **Navarette**, near Vittoria, 1367. He replaced Pedro on his throne ; but he lost three-fourths of his troops by disease, and returned to Aquitaine in 1367 with his own health shattered.

III. *Renewal of the Hundred Years' War. Third Period, 1369-75.*

i. **Causes of renewal :**

- (1) The Black Prince's imposition of a hearth-tax on his subjects in Aquitaine, to pay for the Spanish expedition, and (2) his subjects' resentment and appeal to Charles V for protection.
- ii. **Course of the renewed war :** 1. Northern Aquitaine ravaged by the French.
2. **Limoges** recaptured by Prince Edward, 1370, and its people punished by massacre.
3. Return of the prince to England, very ill, 1371, and rapid decline of English power in Aquitaine under John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

4. Defeat of the English fleet off **la Rochelle**, 1372, by Henry of Trastámara, now king of Castile. Consequent loss of the sea-route to Aquitaine.
5. Disastrous march of Lancaster, 1373, from Calais across France to Bordeaux.
6. **Truce of Bruges** with Charles V, 1375, prolonged by renewals till 1377.

Note.—The only parts of France now left to England were Calais and Ponthieu, and the SW. coast from Bordeaux to Bayonne.

IV. *Affairs in England*, 1369–75.

- i. **Condition of the Royal Court.** After Queen Philippa's death, 1369, Edward III fell under the influence of favourites, especially Alice Perrers and Lord Latimer, who plundered the treasury, and practised the grossest corruption. A *court-party* also grew up, fostered by John of Gaunt and others.
- ii. **Condition of the Church.** For many years past it had been greatly *deteriorating* owing to :
 - (1) The exactions of the Popes (since 1308 under French protection at **Avignon**);
 - (2) the great wealth in the Church, and the practice of plural livings;
 - (3) the gross ignorance of the priesthood generally;
 - (4) the corrupt lives of the friars and monks;
 - (5) the sale of pardons.

Results of these evils :—

- (1) Formation of a strong *anti-clerical party* with the support of John of Gaunt, who was seeking for power;
- (2) rise of **John Wyclif** as a teacher and preacher of reforms in the Church.
- iii. **Political condition of the country.** It was increasingly agitated by four great questions—(1) the position of the Church and clergy in the State, (2) the continuation of the French war, (3) the financial difficulties, and (4) the position of labour.

Note.—As to the first question—in 1371 the king, on the petition of Gaunt's party, dismissed his clerical ministers, chief of whom was **William of Wykeham**, Bishop of Winchester. The second was temporarily settled by the *Truce of Bruges*, 1375; the third and fourth remained open into the next reign.
- iv. **John of Gaunt in chief power, 1371–6 :** owing to the mental decline of the king his father, and the bodily collapse of the Black Prince. The losses in Aquitaine, together with the court scandals, produced grave discontent with Gaunt's administration.

V. *The Good Parliament*, 1376.

- i. **Its efforts to purify the Government**—with the Black Prince's support.

- (1) Gaunt's friends were attacked by the Commons, and the court-favourites *impeached*, i. e. formally accused before the Lords by the Commons. (2) Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others were fined and expelled from court. (3) Wykeham and the clerical party were then restored to power.

Note.—This is the first case of impeachment in English history.

- ii. **Death of the Black Prince, June 1376.** His little son Richard was at once recognized as heir to the throne by both Parliament and king.
- iii. **Importance of the Good Parliament.** It established the right of the Commons (1) to impeach ministers, (2) to demand redress of grievances, (3) to inquire into abuses.

VI. *Gaunt's struggles with the Clergy for Power, 1376-7.*

- i. **His defiance of Parliament**—after the Black Prince's death. He set aside the decisions of the Good Parliament, recalled the favourites to court, and dismissed Wykeham and his supporters from office again.
- ii. **Counter-attacks of the Clergy on Lancaster.** They persuaded the king to restore Wykeham to office, and brought Wyclif to trial in St. Paul's for heresy. When Lancaster interfered, his Savoy Palace was sacked by a mob. To prevent a serious crisis he then went into retirement for a while.
- iii. **Death of Edward III, June 21, 1377**—in circumstances of misery and neglect.

VII. *Summary of the Characteristics of the Reign.*

- i. **Constitutional.**—The definite separation of Parliament into two Houses, followed by a marked increase in the power and importance of the Commons.
- ii. **Commercial and Industrial.** (1) Foundation of a national commercial policy to foster foreign trade and home industries. (2) Settlement of alien merchants and artisans in England, and re-establishment of the cloth-making industry.
- iii. **Social.** (1) Following on the commercial growth—the progress of towns, the accumulation of wealth, and the improved quality of food and clothing generally. (2) Following on the Black Death—the increase of enclosures for sheep-farming, the break-down of feudal serfdom, and the rise of the tenant-farmer. (3) A great development of *nationalism* shown—in the increase of patriotism, the national recognition of the *English language*, and the *revival of English literature*.
- iv. **Religious.** (1) The corrupt state of the Church, and consequent spread of an anti-clerical movement, led by John Wyclif. (2) Growth of a new spirit of criticism in religion, which laid the founda-

tions of the subsequent Protestant Reformation in the Tudor period.

- v. **Foreign.** The long war with France, and its reaction on home affairs.

CHAPTER V

RICHARD II, 1377-1399

- (i) **CHARACTER OF RICHARD II.** As he grew up he became a man of varying moods, arbitrary, impulsive, and lacking virility. While loyal to friends, he was very passionate and revengeful. He was able, but lacked balance of mind; brave and generous, but too fond of display. His extravagance and arbitrariness at length ruined him.
- (ii) **POLICY.** While desirous of ruling arbitrarily, his love of ease and pleasure led him to be content to rule for eight years constitutionally. But he ultimately carried out, to his own downfall, the double policy of avenging his former friends and of becoming an absolute monarch.

A. THE PERIOD OF RICHARD'S MINORITY, 1377-89.

A₁. RICHARD UNDER TUTELAGE, 1377-86.

I. *Circumstances of Richard's Accession.*

- i. **Formation of a Council of Government**—Richard was only eleven—from both the constitutional and the court parties, but with none of the king's uncles in it. Gaunt now prudently sought reconciliation with the clergy.
- ii. **Renewal of the French War, 1377**—by Charles V's fleet attacking the south coast, and the Scots invading the northern counties.
- iii. **Proceedings of Richard's First Parliament, 1377.** Two important constitutional points were made :—
 - (1) Measures passed by Parliament not to be repealed without its consent;
 - (2) Parliament, during the king's minority, to choose the great officers of state.

Note.—Both these enactments show the growing powers of Parliament; but the first, depriving the Crown of its 'dispensing power', was not finally established till 1688.

II. *The Great Papal Schism, 1378-1408.*

From 1308 the papal see had been at Avignon in S. France. In 1377 Gregory XI transferred it to Rome, but died 1378. Two popes were now set up; **Urban VI** at **Rome**, recognized by Germany, Italy, England, and northern Europe; and **Clement VII** at **Avignon**, recognized by France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily. *The*

thirty years' schism following caused strife in the Church, enmity between nations, and grave discredit to the Papacy. In England Wyclif's anti-papal doctrines gained many new adherents.

III. *John of Gaunt again in Power. His weak Government, 1377-81.*

- i. **Gaunt's position and influence:** he was the king's eldest living uncle and the highest peer of the realm, being the only living duke; and he had charge of the renewed French war. He had thus the most powerful influence of all.
- ii. **His expensive conduct of the War.** (1) In 1378, the Council having entrusted to Gaunt the subsidies voted by Parliament, the money was wasted through his incapacity. (2) In 1379 and 1380 Parliament levied two *graduated Poll-taxes* on all persons according to wealth and rank. The money from these was also spent fruitlessly. Parliament then obtained the *right to investigate public accounts, and appropriate supplies*, i. e. to say for what purpose they should be used.
- iii. **The ungraduated Poll-tax of 1381**—which levied a shilling per head on rich and poor over fifteen years old.

IV. *The Peasants' Revolt, 1381.*

- i. **Its causes.** 1. *General:* (1) The long period of bad government, loss of French territory, and increasing taxation. (2) The unsatisfactory relations, since the Black Death, between capital and labour, and the unjust restrictions imposed upon the peasantry by the *Statutes of Labourers*. (3) The spread of revolutionary ideas among the peasantry, through the preaching of *Wyclif and his Lollard followers* against the wealth of the clergy.
2. *The immediate cause*—the unjust Poll-tax of 1381.
- ii. **Its course, June-November 1381.** 1. March on London of peasants, from Yorkshire to Devon, under various leaders. Landlords' houses and manor-rolls were destroyed, and many lawyers and tax-collectors killed.
2. **The peasants' demands:**—(1) A free pardon, (2) abolition of villeinage, tolls, and market-dues, and (3) the turning of farm-tenure by compulsory service into tenure by money-rent.
3. **The rebels in London.** John of Gaunt's Savoy Palace was burnt down, and several prominent persons were put to death—including Archbishop Sudbury. Richard, going to meet the rebels, was in great danger when their leader **Wat the Tyler** was slain; but he persuaded them to disperse by granting their demands. In November, however, Parliament cancelled the king's concessions.
- iii. **Results of the Revolt.** (1) Some hundreds were hanged, and the

power of the landowners was strengthened ; but (2) the revolt was a death-blow to villeinage, and slowly the serfs gained their emancipation.

V. *Events from 1381-5.*

- i. **The King's Marriage, 1382 (when sixteen), to Anne of Bohemia**—and increase of the Wyclifites or Lollards in importance and numbers, owing to her favour.

Note.—Wyclif died in 1384 as vicar of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

- ii. **The King and his Kinsmen.** In 1385 he made his youngest uncle, Thomas of Woodstock—an intriguing, ambitious man—**Duke of Gloucester**, and his second uncle, Edmund of Cambridge, Duke of York. From 1385-9 the Duke of Lancaster (Gaunt) was absent in Spain seeking to win Castile in right of his wife.
- iii. **Rise of a Court-Party :** formed of the young king's friends. The chief were **Sir Simon Burley ; Michael de la Pole**, made chancellor, 1383, and Earl of Suffolk ; **de Vere**, Earl of Oxford, made Duke of Ireland, 1385. Gloucester viewed this party with increasing jealousy.

A₂. RICHARD'S STRUGGLES WITH GLOUCESTER AND THE LORDS APPELLANT, 1386-9.

I. *Gloucester's Attack on Richard's Friends, 1386.*

- i. **Rise of an Opposition Party**—after Gaunt's departure, 1385, *under Gloucester*, and supported by the **Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, Derby** (Gaunt's eldest son, Henry Bolingbroke), **Archbishop Courtenay**, and **Bishop Arundel of Ely**.
- ii. **Impeachment of Suffolk**, 1386—Richard's ablest minister—on charges of misappropriating money, and mismanaging the war. He was condemned and imprisoned.
- iii. **A Committee of Eleven Lords appointed by Parliament as a Regency, 1386.**—Next year, however, Richard released Suffolk, and an assembly of his judges declared the Committee illegal.

II. *Supremacy of the Lords Appellant, 1388-9.*

- i. **Five of Richard's councillors appealed**—i.e. charged with treason.—by five opposition lords : Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby.

These, calling themselves **Lords Appellants**, appeared before the king in arms and forced him to order a trial. The accused men fled ; but de Vere, returning with a Cheshire army, was defeated at **Eadcot Bridge** (Oxford), December 1387, by Gloucester and Derby. Richard was now in Gloucester's power.

- ii. **The Merciless, or Wonderful, Parliament, 1388**—packed by Gloucester's supporters. The king's friends were impeached before the Lords; and all were declared guilty. Some were executed, some banished, while de Vere and others escaped to the Continent.
- iii. **The King's bold stroke, 1389.** After a year in retirement, Richard suddenly appeared at the Council in May, declared himself of age, and dismissed Gloucester and his party from office.

B. THE PERIOD OF RICHARD'S PERSONAL RULE, 1389-99.

B₁. HIS EIGHT YEARS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1389-97. •

I. Events from 1389 till Queen Anne's Death, 1394.

- i. **Richard's moderate rule**—under the peaceful influence of the queen. The Lords Appellant were gradually allowed to re-enter the Council; and Archbishop Arundel in 1391 again became Chancellor.
- ii. **Important Parliamentary work.**

In 1390 *the Statute of Provisors* was re-enacted (see 1351), and a statute passed forbidding Maintenance and Livery. In 1393 *the Statute of Praemunire* was re-enacted (see 1353).

- iii. **Growth of Lollardy** during this period—due to

(1) the queen's countenance of it till her death, 1394, and (2) the disgrace of the Schismatic Papacy.

II. Events leading to Richard's attack on Gloucester's Party, 1395-7.

- i. **Formation of a new party by Richard**—the leaders being Lancaster (now returned from Castile), his son the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Nottingham.
- ii. **His truce with France and second marriage, 1396.** The truce, formed for 25 years, was completed by his marriage with **Isabella**, the young daughter of Charles VI (reigned 1380-1422). The marriage proved the turning-point of Richard's reign, increasing his extravagance, and developing his despotism.

Note.—Gloucester, jealous of the new party, and angered by the truce and marriage, now resumed his intrigues to seize the chief power.

B₂. RICHARD'S DESPOTISM. THE LANCASTRIAN REVOLUTION, 1397-9.

I. Richard's Overthrow of Gloucester and his Party, 1397.

- i. **Warwick, Arundel, and Gloucester arrested**—when Richard learnt of their conspiracy to seize the government. Gloucester was sent in Nottingham's charge to Calais.

- ii. **The three lords and Archbishop Arundel impeached**—on charges of conspiracy and treason. Earl Arundel was executed, his brother, the archbishop, and Warwick were banished. Gloucester was found dead, probably murdered, at Calais.

Note.—Richard, rewarding those who had aided his vengeance, made *dukes* of Derby, Nottingham, and Rutland, and *earls* of others.

II. *The Suicidal Acts of the Shrewsbury Parliament, 1398.*

Richard made absolute by Parliament—overawed by his troops.

- (1) It annulled all the acts of the Merciless Parliament (1388); (2) granted the customs-duties to Richard for life; and (3) delegated its powers to a Committee of eighteen members—all friends of the king. *Richard now became not only tyrannical but foolish.*

III. *Events of Richard's Absolute Rule, 1398-9.*

- i. **His methods of raising money.** Ruling through the new committee, he overawed London by a force of Cheshire archers, and raised money to pay for his extravagant court by forced loans, benevolences, 'farming' the taxes, and other despotic methods.
- ii. **His banishment of Hereford and Norfolk, 1398.** These former Lords Appellant (Derby and Nottingham) quarrelling, Hereford charged Norfolk with treason. To get rid of both, Richard banished the former for ten years, the latter for life.
- iii. **Death of Gaunt, February 1399**—his heir, Hereford, being in exile. Richard seized his estates to raise money for a punitive expedition to Ireland.

IV. *The Lancastrian Revolution, 1399.*

- i. **Return of Henry of Lancaster (Hereford)**—and triumphal march to London, to claim his inheritance. He was accompanied by Archbishop Arundel, and supported by the Earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur, with many other nobles.
- ii. **Return of Richard from Ireland**—and surrender in N. Wales to Lancaster's supporters. He was taken to London, and placed in the Tower.
- iii. **Proceedings of deposition in Parliament (September).** I.
Richard charged before Parliament with :
- (1) injustice to Henry of Lancaster and Archbishop Arundel, (2) breaking the constitution in various ways, (3) imposing unlawful taxes, forced loans, and benevolences.

2. **His formal deposition in favour of Henry of Lancaster**, who claimed the throne because of

- (1) his descent from Henry III, (2) his having 'conquered' the country, and (3) Richard's bad government.

Note.—His only real, but sufficient, right to the throne was *his election by Parliament, on which right the Lancastrian dynasty was founded.*

iv. **Causes of the Lancastrian Revolution :—**

1. The degeneration of Richard's character after Queen Anne's death, 1394.
2. His love of display, and his increased extravagance after his second marriage.
3. The completeness of his triumph over Gloucester's party, 1397, which encouraged him to establish an absolute rule, with its evil consequences.
4. His alienation of all classes by illegal taxation and other tyrannical acts.
5. The personal wrongs of Henry of Lancaster.

BOOK V

THE PERIOD OF DYNASTIC STRUGGLES AND OF PARLIAMENTARY GROWTH AND DE- CLINE UNDER THE LANCASTRIAN AND YORKIST KINGS, 1399-1485

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK V

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT: further growth of English nationality.

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land and the last stage of Feudalism.** (1) *Rapid growth of enclosures* for sheep-farming, *resulting in* (a) an increase in the wealth, splendour, and armed forces of the nobility [but see under (iv)]; (b) an increase in vagrancy, and poverty among the labourers, and (c) an increase in the wealth and importance of the remaining peasantry who tilled the soil.

(2) *Collapse of feudalism*, as a system of land-tenure, after the Wars of the Roses, but continuation of *feudal incidents* till 1660.

2. **Society.** (1) *Growth in importance of the middle classes* (the gentry, merchants, and tenant-farmers); interrupted during Henry VI's reign; but continued after 1471. [This is implied in ch. I, pp. 99, 100; ch. II, p. 101; ch. III, pp. 107, 109; ch. IV, pp. 112, 114]. (2) *Evil influence* of the French war, and the Wars of the Roses, causing (a) a decline in population and agriculture, (b) an increase of crime and lawlessness, and (c) the increased practice of maintenance, livery, and retainers [ch. III, pp. 108, 109, 110; ch. IV, p. 113; ch. V, p. 116].

3. **Commerce and Industries.** These declined in all but the wool-trade; but after 1471 they became the mainstay of the New Monarchy [ch. IV, pp. 111, 114; ch. V, p. 116].

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) Decline of the arts, science, and literature in England. (2) Introduction of printing into England by Caxton, 1476.

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Spread of Lollardy**, followed by the persecution of its adherents [ch. I, p. 98, 100; ch. II, p. 101].

2. Continued **spiritual decline of the Church**, but increase of its wealth [ch. I, p. 98; ch. II, p. 102].

3. **Alliance of Crown and Church** [ch. I, pp. 98, 100; ch. II, pp. 101, 103].

4. **Attacks of the Parliament on the Church** [ch. I, pp. 99, 100; ch. II, p. 101].

5. **Great decline in the influence of Church and clergy** [ch. V, p. 116].

6. **Decline of clergy as statesmen after Cardinal Beaufort** [ch. III, p. 106].

(iv) **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **Dynastic rebellions** [ch. I, p. 97; ch. II, p. 102; ch. III, p. 109; ch. IV, p. 111; ch. V, p. 115].

2. **Resistance to royal favouritism** [ch. III, pp. 107, 108; ch. IV, pp. 111, 112].

3. **Territorial expansion and decline in France** [ch. II and ch. III, pp. 101-8].

4. **Political power of the mediaeval nobility:** (1) culmination of its power [ch. I, pp. 97-9; chs. II and III; ch. IV, pp. 111-12]. (2) Decline and collapse of its power [ch. IV, pp. 113-14; ch. V, p. 116].

5. **Foreign relations.** (1) The Hundred Years' War to conquer France, *continued* [ch. I, pp. 98, 99, 100; ch. II], and its collapse [ch. III, pp. 105-8]. (2) *French* hostility [ch. III, p. 109; ch. IV, pp. 111, 112, 113]. (3) *Scottish* hostility in alliance with France [ch. I, pp. 98, 99; ch. II, p. 103; ch. III, p. 104; ch. IV, pp. 111, 113]. (4) Relations with *the Papacy* [ch. I, p. 98; ch. II, p. 101; ch. III, p. 105; ch. V, p. 115]. (5) With *the Empire* [ch. II, p. 102]. (6) With *Castile* [ch. II, p. 103]. (7) With *Flanders* [ch. II, p. 102]. (8) With *Burgundy* [ch. I, p. 97; ch. II, p. 102; ch. III, pp. 104-6; ch. IV, pp. 111-112, 113].

(v) **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **Culmination of the power of the mediaeval Parliament:** *its control of* (1) taxation [ch. I, pp. 97, 99, 100; ch. II, p. 102]; (2) legislation [ch. I, p. 99; ch. II, p. 101]; (3) ministers [ch. I, pp. 97, 99; ch. III, pp. 107, 108]; (4) the Privy Council [ch. I, p. 99]; (5) expenditure [ch. I, p. 99]; (6) the Church [ch. II, p. 101]; (7) the kingship [ch. III, p. 109; ch. V, p. 115].

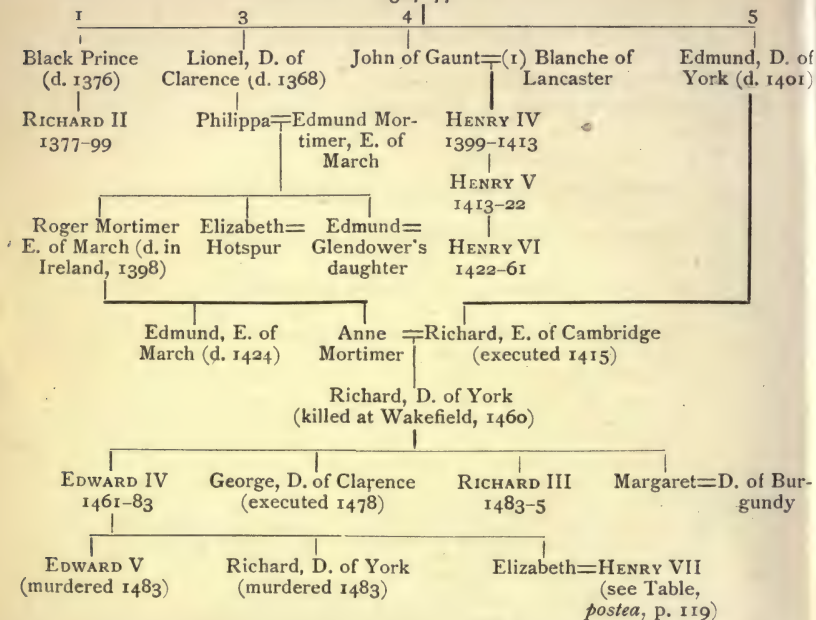
2. **Decline and collapse of the power of the mediaeval Parliament, and rise to supremacy of the New Monarchy and the Privy Council** [ch. III, pp. 104, 105, 109; ch. IV, pp. 111, 113, 114; ch. V, pp. 115, 116].

3. **Military and naval development:** (1) military [ch. II, pp. 101-3]; (2) naval [ch. II, p. 102].

TABLE OF THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

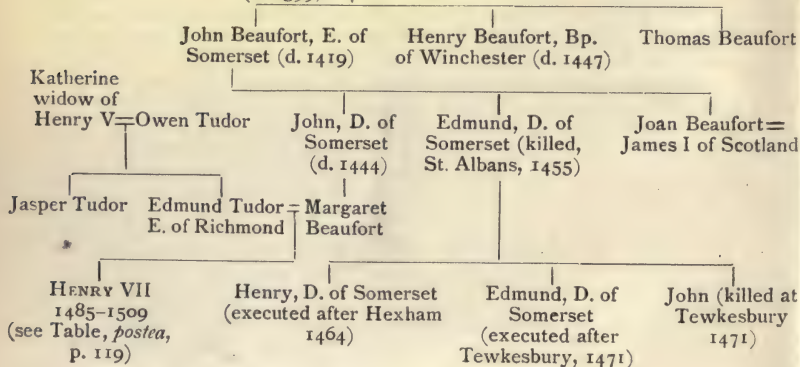
EDWARD III (refer *antea*, p. 81)

1327-77



GENEALOGY OF THE BEAUFORTS.

John of Gaunt (3) Katherine Swynford
(d. 1399)



CHAPTER I

THE FIRST LANCASTRIAN KING: HENRY IV,

1399-1413

- (i) **CHARACTER OF HENRY IV.** He was always a man of many good qualities—energetic, deeply religious, and faithful to constitutional principles of government. But the means by which he obtained the crown, and his subsequent difficulties, made him suspicious, crafty, and often vindictive.
- (ii) His **Domestic Policy** was twofold—(1) to maintain friendly relations with his Parliaments so as to gain their support against the rebel nobles, and (2) to uphold the clergy in their struggles with the Lollards. His **Foreign Policy** was to keep France weak by fostering the civil strife there between the Burgundian and the Orleanist parties.

A. PERIOD OF DOMESTIC TROUBLES AND FOREIGN OPPOSITION, 1399-1408.

I. *Henry IV and Richard.*

- i. **Henry's supporters rewarded**—important posts being given to Northumberland, his son 'Hotspur', and brother the Earl of Worcester; while Arundel again became Archbishop.
- ii. **Acts of Henry's First Parliament, 1399:**
 - (1) The acts of the Shrewsbury Parliament annulled; (2) Richard condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the dukes and others whom he had raised in title degraded to their former ranks.
- iii. **First Rebellion against Henry, January 1400**—plotted by several of the degraded nobles in favour of Richard. It was betrayed by **Rutland** (Henry's cousin), who was pardoned, while three others were executed.
- iv. **Death of Richard II, February 1400**—in Pontefract castle, but whether naturally or by violence is uncertain.

II. *Henry IV, Parliament, and the Clergy.*

- i. **Henry and Parliament.** The first half of Henry's reign was full of difficulties owing to
 - (1) the exhaustion of the Treasury; (2) rebellions of nobles; (3) hostility of the Welsh, Scots, and French; and (4) growth of heresy in the Church. Through his continual need of money to cope with these

difficulties, and his loyalty to constitutional principles, Parliament attained to greater power in this reign than it had ever before possessed.

- ii. **Henry and the Clergy.** To please these, his strongest supporters, Henry passed the persecuting **Act de Haeretico Comburendo, 1401**, against the Lollards.

It forbade all teaching and preaching without a bishop's licence, and allowed any unrepentant person, convicted of heresy, to be burnt to death.

III. *Hostility to Henry in France, Scotland, and Wales, 1400-2.*

- i. **A truce rejected by France**—whose fleets then plundered the English coasts.
- ii. **Homage refused by Robert III of Scotland, 1400**—causing Henry to invade Scotland. But he soon relinquished his army to Northumberland and Hotspur, and returned south.
- iii. **Second Rebellion against Henry**—Owen Glendower's in Wales, 1400-2. 1. *Cause:*

The claims of **Owen Glendower** to certain Welsh lands held by Lord Grey of Ruthin, a Lancastrian, and Henry's rejection of the claims.

- 2. In 1401 Glendower captured Lord Grey, and also Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the Earl of March (see Table, *antea*, p. 96). All Henry's efforts against him were futile.
- iv. **Battle of Homildon Hill, 1402**—in which a Scottish invasion of Northumberland was defeated by the Percies. The Earls of Douglas and Fife were captured.

IV. *Three Further Rebellions against Henry, 1403-8.*

- i. **Third Rebellion—that of the Percies, 1403.** 1. *Causes:*

(1) Henry's delay in repaying money due to the Percies; (2) his claim to have the ransoms of their Scottish prisoners; (3) his refusal to ransom Edmund Mortimer, Hotspur's father-in-law.

- 2. *Events:* (1) League, to place the young Earl of March on the throne, formed by the Percies, Douglas (their prisoner), and Glendower. (2) Victory of the king and Prince Henry at **Shrewsbury, 1403**. Hotspur was killed, his uncle, Worcester, captured and executed, and Douglas captured. (3) Northumberland submitted to the king at York, and later was forgiven.

- ii. **Fourth Rebellion, 1405**—Led by Mowbray, Scrope, Archbishop of York, and Northumberland. The north was roused in favour of the Earl of March; but at **Shipton Moor** (near York) Scrope and

Mowbray were captured and executed, while Northumberland escaped to Scotland.

- iii. **Fifth and last Rebellion—that of Northumberland, 1408.** After three years of wandering Northumberland invaded Yorkshire from Scotland, but was defeated and killed at **Bramham Moor** (near Leeds), 1408.
- iv. **French hostility continued against Henry**—by their aiding the Welsh revolt, 1405. It was not till 1409 that Glendower was finally defeated.

V. *Henry's Foreign Troubles diminished by two important Events, 1406-7.*

- i. **Capture of Prince James of Scotland, 1406**—off Flamborough Head. Henry held him as a hostage for the good behaviour of the Scots, but had him well educated. He remained a prisoner till 1424 (*postea*, p. 105).
- ii. **Murder of Orleans, and consequent Civil War in France, 1407.**

Charles VI's insanity caused a rivalry for the regency in France between the Duke of Orleans, his brother, and the Duke of Burgundy, his cousin. In 1407 the agents of Burgundy murdered Orleans in Paris, causing a long civil war, which relieved Henry IV of all danger from France.

VI. *Henry's Relations with his Parliaments, 1404-8.*

(Refer *antea*, A. II.)

- i. **The two Parliaments of 1404.** 1. The January Parliament forced the king
 - (1) to yield to it the control of his household, (2) to make public the names of all members of his Privy Council.
 - 2. The October Parliament (the 'Unlearned') attempted to force Henry to appropriate the Church lands to pay for the war, but was thwarted by the bishops.
- ii. **Important Parliamentary proceedings in 1406-7.** 1. In 1406 the Commons
 - (1) secured the right to have the royal accounts audited by their own officials, and (2) *gave the franchise to all freemen present in the county-court on the day for electing knights of the shire.*
 - 2. In the Parliament of 1407 the king declared that *the right to originate money-bills lay with the Commons and not with the Lords.*

Note.—This was the beginning of one of the most important rights of the Commons, and one most cherished at the present day.

B. HENRY IV'S LAST YEARS, 1408-13.**I. Henry's Position at Home and Abroad, 1408-9.**

- i. **The security of his throne established.** By the autumn of 1408 Henry had completely suppressed the rebellious nobles, had become free from all dangers from Scotland and France, and had penned up Glendower in Snowdonia. He had also strengthened his position abroad by various alliances.

- ii. **His policy towards France—**

to keep the French busy at home with their civil war, by sending help first to the Burgundians, then to the Orleanists, according as either side was in danger of collapsing.

II. Domestic Events, 1409-12.

- i. **Renewal of Archbishop Arundel's attacks on Lollardy, 1409:** he forbade any unauthorized translation of the Bible, and all disputations about religious matters.
- ii. **Renewal of Parliament's attacks on Church lands, 1410.** The Commons, containing many Lollard members, proposed to confiscate permanently the lands of bishops and abbots; but Prince Henry's influence defeated the proposal.
- iii. **Dissensions in the Royal Family—**caused by the diversity of aims among the four sons of Henry and his three half-brothers, **the Beauforts**. While he was ill, 1410-11, Prince Henry and the Beauforts practically ruled the country; but on his partial recovery, 1412, they gave place to Arundel.

III. Death of Henry IV.

- i. **Henry died, March 1413,** while at prayer in Westminster chapel.
- ii. **Work and character of his reign.**

Despite his many difficulties, his reign was marked by notable achievements both for his family and the nation.

1. The Lancastrian dynasty was securely established on the throne, and England's power and influence as a nation were greatly increased.
2. Great constitutional progress was made. '*Never before and never again for more than 200 years were the Commons so strong as they were under Henry IV.*'
3. The success of his reign showed that a king acting constitutionally with his Parliament might overcome any amount of domestic difficulty.

CHAPTER II

HENRY V, 1413-1422

- (i) **CHARACTER OF HENRY V.** The traditions of his wild and dissipated youth are probably untrue. He was deeply religious and modest; as a soldier, brave and clever; as a ruler, energetic, prudent, and just according to his light. But two charges must be laid against him—he sacrificed the welfare of his country to an unjustifiable war of aggression, and he was a religious persecutor.
- (ii) **POLICY.** In continuing that of his father he strove (1) to work constitutionally with Parliament, (2) to conciliate and unite his subjects under him, and (3) to restore Church power by sanctioning the persecution of the Lollards. *Towards France* he adopted a war-policy, partly for conquest and partly to secure domestic peace by employing abroad the increasing wealth and power of his nobles.
-

I. *Early Events, 1413-14.*

i. Arundel displaced as Chancellor by Bishop Beaufort of Winchester—Henry's uncle.

ii. **Henry V and the heretics.** 1. Arundel, still archbishop, was now allowed to renew his persecution of the Lollards. **Sir John Oldcastle** (Lord Cobham), one of Henry's friends, was tried and condemned to death. His escape from prison excited the whole country.

Note.—Oldcastle was captured 1417, tried by Parliament, and burnt to death.

2. In July 1414 many Lollards were captured by Henry in **St. Giles's Fields**, where they were secretly meeting to plot the overthrow of the government (it is said). Fifty were executed.

iii. **Important proceedings of the Parliament of Leicester, 1414.**

1. All Lollard suspects were ordered to be arrested and brought for trial.
2. Henry granted (1) that all the accepted petitions of the Commons *should become law unaltered*, and (2) that *the alien Priories should be dissolved*, and their lands confiscated for Crown revenues.

II. *Renewal of the Hundred Years' War, 1415.*

- i. **Edward III's claims to the French Crown** revived by Henry V—
as his great-grandson, ignoring the stronger claims of the Earl of March (Table, p. 81).

ii. Causes of the renewal of war:

- (1) Henry's ambition for military glory, and the opportunity offered for it by the civil strife in France. (2) His anxiety to prevent domestic disorders (such as the Lollards' rising and the feuds among the nobles) by engaging his subjects' attention abroad. (3) His encouragement by the clergy, eager to divert attention from their wealth.

iii. Plot to place the Earl of March on the throne, 1415—formed by the Earl of Cambridge (Duke of York's brother), Sir Thomas Grey, and Lord Scrope. Henry discovered the plot just before embarking from Southampton, and all three were tried and executed.

iv. Henry's capture of Harfleur, September 1415—after a siege of five weeks.

v. His victory at Agincourt, October 25, 1415—gained over a much larger French army through

- (1) his superior generalship, and (2) the greater mobility and fighting qualities of his English archers. He captured over 1,500 prisoners, including the Duke of Orleans, losing on his side the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk, but less than 150 others.

Results of the victory. It made Henry the pride of his people, and won him European renown. But its immediate value was small; his supplies were exhausted, and he had to return home at once from Calais.

III. *Henry's Second Invasion of France, and its Conquest, 1417-20.*

i. His preparations. (1) League renewed, October 1416, with the Duke of Burgundy, and alliances made with the Emperor, and the chief northern states of Europe. (2) Another army and fleet raised with money abundantly voted by Parliament, and a *code of ordinances* issued for their regulation.

ii. His reduction of Normandy, 1417-19. (1) Capture of Caen, September 1417, when he proclaimed himself Duke of Normandy. (2) Gradual establishment of English laws and administrative system over the duchy. (3) Capture of Rouen, January 1419, which completed the reduction.

iii. His alliance with young Philip of Burgundy. (1) Murder of Duke John of Burgundy, September 1419, at Montereau-sur-Yonne, during a conference with the Dauphin, a violent Orleanist. (2) Renewal of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance with the young Duke Philip. The alliance lasted till 1435. It opened N.E. France to Henry, and soon placed the whole kingdom at his feet.

iv. **The Treaty of Troyes, May 1420**, with the queen and the Burgundians.

- (1) Henry was to be *Regent of France* during the imbecile king's life, and on his death to be **king**—thus excluding the Dauphin. (2) He was to marry Katherine, Charles's daughter. This he did on June 2.

Note.—Katherine was a younger sister of Richard II's second wife.

v. **Return of Henry with his queen to England, February 1421**—leaving his eldest brother Thomas, Duke of Clarence, as his lieutenant in France.

IV. *Events leading to Henry's Death, 1421-2.*

- i. **League of the Dauphin with the Scots and Castile, 1420**—in an effort to counteract the Treaty of Troyes.
- ii. **Defeat and death of Clarence, March 1421, at Beaugé**—where he was attacked by the Dauphin, reinforced by 5,000 Scots.
- iii. **Henry's third and last Invasion of France, June 1421**—to recover the ground lost by Clarence. In October 1421, having driven the Dauphin south of the Loire, he laid siege to **Meaux**, near Paris. It was captured May 1422. He was then joined by his wife and infant son Henry (born December 1421, at Windsor).
- iv. **Death of Henry V, August 31, 1422**, at Vincennes, near Paris. He had been attacked by dysentery while before Meaux, and he died from its effects.

V. *Work of Henry V.*

- i. **Domestic.** (1) He strengthened the constitutional position of the Crown established by his father. (2) He greatly helped the Church to crush Lollardy, and to postpone all religious reforms for a century.
- ii. **Foreign.** He conquered France, but as he left no one able enough to take his place, that country ultimately regained its independence after much misery; while in England the *Wars of the Roses* followed, and resulted in the downfall of the Lancastrian dynasty.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VI, 1422-1461

- (i) **CHARACTER OF HENRY VI.** Being physically weak from childhood, he received no military training, but grew up studious and retiring. He was pious, gentle, and affectionate, but entirely lacking in kingly qualities. After his marriage he was completely ruled by his strong-minded young wife, while his trust was abused to his own undoing by both Suffolk and Somerset.
- (ii) **POLICY.** With so feeble a personality Henry never took any decisive lead in matters of state policy; but, so far as he could, he supported peace with France, and, later on, he tried to prevent civil war in England.

A. PERIOD OF BEDFORD'S PROTECTORATE, 1422-35.**I. Government and Leaders during Henry VI's Minority, 1422-42.**

- i. **A Protectorate and Council of Regency formed.** As Henry was only nine months old, Parliament made his elder uncle, **John, Duke of Bedford** (an able statesman and general), Protector of both England and France, with his younger uncle, **Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester** (a selfish, ambitious man), to rule at home in Bedford's absence abroad. Gloucester was also made President of the Council of Regency, and his uncle, Bishop Beaufort of Winchester, a leading member.

Note.—Gloucester was jealous of his bishop-uncle, and they soon quarrelled.

- ii. **The constitutional effect of the king's long minority**—a struggle between the Privy Council and Parliament for chief power, resulting ultimately in *the rise of the Privy Council into supreme importance under the king* (*postea*, p. 116).

II. Bedford's Success in France, 1423-4.

- i. **Bedford's Treaty and Marriage, 1423.** On Charles VI's death, 1422, the Orleanists, refusing to recognize Henry VI, proclaimed the Dauphin as Charles VII. Bedford then made the *Treaty of Amiens*, 1423, with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and married the former's sister Anne.
- ii. **His victories at Cravant (1423) and Verneuil (1424)**—securing communication with his two allies. In the latter battle many Scots were killed.

- iii. **His restoration of James I to his Scottish throne, 1424**—on condition that he kept strict peace between Scotland and England.

III. *Events in England, 1425-8.*

- i. **Gloucester's Quarrel with Bishop Beaufort, 1425**—which grew so keen that Bedford had to return from France to settle it.
- ii. **The Parliament of Bats (at Leicester), 1426**—so called because Gloucester and Beaufort attended with retainers armed with bats or bludgeons. Uncle and nephew were with great difficulty reconciled by Bedford and the peers.
- iii. **Beaufort made a Cardinal and Papal Legate, 1427**—thus provoking Gloucester's attacks anew.

IV. *The Maid of Orleans and her Work, 1429-31.*

- i. **The English siege of Orleans, 1428-9**: the only town left to the Dauphin north of the Loire.
- ii. **Jeanne d'Arc and the Relief of Orleans, 1429.**

Jeanne was a peasant girl of Domrémy in Lorraine, who believed herself appointed by God to relieve Orleans, to have the Dauphin crowned at Rheims, and to drive the English from France. Charles placed her at the head of an army which, becoming infected by her zeal, succeeded in defeating the English and in relieving Orleans, May 1429.

- iii. **Her further victories, 1429.** At **Jargeau** she defeated and captured the Earl of Suffolk, and at **Patay**, Lord Talbot. In July 1429 she saw Charles crowned at Rheims as she had promised.
- iv. **Death of the Maid, 1431.** Falling into the hands of the Burgundians at **Compiègne, 1430**, she was sold to the English, who tried and burnt her as a witch at **Rouen, 1431.**

Note.—She had turned the tide of invasion, and had set France on the way to regain its independence. Her death was a disgrace to the English, and also to Charles, who, had he wished, might have saved her.

V. *The Last Years of Bedford, 1431-5.*

- i. **Increasing coolness of Burgundy**—who was jealous of Bedford's successes, and angry at his marriage (his first wife dying 1432) with the sister of an enemy of Burgundy.
- ii. **The Congress of Arras, August 1435**—convened by the efforts of the Pope and Burgundy to bring about peace. The negotiations failed because neither English nor French would agree to a compromise.
- iii. **Death of Bedford at Rouen, September 1435**—worn out by disappointments. *Results of his death*:

- (1) Defection of Burgundy, who quickly made terms with Charles VII and renounced the English alliance; (2) the English position in France hopelessly weakened; (3) in England Gloucester now heir-presumptive to the throne, and the Duke of York and the Beauforts made more important; (4) the rivalry between Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, and the feuds among the nobles, made more acute.

B. PERIOD OF ENGLAND'S FINAL EXPULSION FROM FRANCE, AND OF EVENTS LEADING TO CIVIL WAR, 1435-55.

I. *Events from 1435-45.*

- i. **Formation of two Parties in England**, after Bedford's death—a peace-party, led by Cardinal Beaufort, to promote peace with France, and a war-party, under Gloucester.
- ii. **Rise of the Duke of York** (refer Table, *antea*, p. 96), as Regent in France in Bedford's place. He recovered Normandy from the French, but was recalled 1437, from which time, owing to disunion in the Council, no Regent was properly supported.
- iii. **The Truce of Tours (1444), and Henry's Marriage (1445).** The truce was made with Charles VII by the Earl of Suffolk, Beaufort's chief supporter, sent to France to negotiate. Anjou and Maine were ceded to Charles, and a marriage was arranged between Henry VI and Margaret, daughter of René, Duke of Anjou. The marriage took place in London.

Note.—Margaret was an able woman with a strong will, but violent passions, which later helped to plunge England into civil war.

- iv. **Truce and Marriage opposed**—by Gloucester and the war-party, who thereby incurred the bitter hostility of the young queen.

II. *The Supremacy and Fall of Suffolk, 1445-50.*

- i. **Rivalry of Suffolk and Gloucester**—the former having taken the place of Beaufort (now old) as the young king's chief adviser.
- ii. **Deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort, 1447.**
 1. While attending Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds Gloucester died suddenly. Suffolk and the young queen were suspected of having caused his death. **Richard, Duke of York**, now came to the front as being nearest to the throne of all Edward III's descendants.
 2. Six weeks later Gloucester's uncle, the Cardinal, died, and Henry lost his last capable adviser. Thenceforward matters went wrong continuously.
- iii. **Suffolk's absolute position as chief minister, 1447-50.**
 1. The chief offices of state were filled with his supporters—one of them, Edmund Beaufort, being made Duke of Somerset and Regent of France, 1448.

2. York was sent out of the way to govern Ireland. There his good rule gained him the favour and support of the Irish.
3. In France Normandy was again lost, and by 1450 all the north except Calais had passed into French hands.
- iv. **Suffolk's impeachment and murder, 1450.** Owing to the French losses and the exhaustion of the treasury, a violent outburst of popular feeling arose against Suffolk and his ministry. In February he was arrested and impeached for treason by the Commons. To save his life Henry banished him for five years. In May he departed for Flanders; but he was captured at sea by his enemies, and beheaded in a boat.

III. *Rebellion of Jack Cade and the Kentishmen, 1450.*

- i. **March of the rebels to London under Cade**—an adventurer claiming to be the illegitimate son of the late Earl of March. **They demanded:**
 - (1) the remedy of specified abuses in taxation, (2) the dismissal of Suffolk's friends from office, and their trial for the loss of Normandy, and (3) the election of York to chief power under the king.
- ii. **Events.** 1. Henry VI defeated at **Sevenoaks** by the rebels.
 2. Lord Say beheaded by them in London, and the city plundered.
 3. The rebels defeated on **London Bridge** by the citizens and dispersed.
 4. Cade captured and executed in Sussex.
- iii. **Importance of the rebellion.**

It was a *political* movement, not a social one as Wat Tyler's had been. Its 'grievances' were the expression of the widespread dissatisfaction with Henry's incapable rule, and they show why the Duke of York henceforth became the favourite of the common people, and the leader of the opposition.

IV. *Loss of the remainder of France, 1450-3.*

- i. **Aquitaine lost, 1450-1:** owing to the civil troubles in England, during which the French were able to overrun the province without difficulty.
- ii. **Last Campaign of the War, 1452-3.** (1) In 1452, on the Gascons appealing to England for help, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent with an expedition to Aquitaine. (2) In 1453, after some successes, he was defeated and slain at **Chatillon**. (3) In October 1453 Bordeaux was lost, and *thenceforward the only English town remaining in France was Calais*.
- iii. **Chief results of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453).**

1. *Immediate*: (1) Loss of all England's French dominions except Calais and the Channel Islands; (2) a heavy burden of war-costs; (3) the setting free of some thousands of turbulent soldiers who, returning home, became often troublesome either as robbers or barons' retainers apt to quarrel and fight.
2. *Later results*: (1) *In France*, a national feeling having been engendered by the war, the people became during the next fifty years *completely united as a nation*, and thereafter France took its place as one of the leading powers in Europe. (2) *England*, freed from the impossible task of holding France conquered, was able after the civil war to develop both politically and materially at even a greater rate than France.

V. *Rivalry of Somerset and York, 1450-5.*

- i. **Rise of Somerset in place of Suffolk, 1450**—but with no greater capacity for ruling. York now returned from Ireland.
- ii. **Formation of a Yorkist party**—to promote York's claims to be chief minister instead of Somerset. His strongest supporters were his wife's relatives, *the numerous and powerful Neville family*, of whom the leaders were the **Earl of Salisbury**, her eldest brother, and his son the **Earl of Warwick**.
- iii. **Somerset's dismissal demanded, 1452**—by York, who appeared with an army before the king, but was duped into submission.
- iv. **Henry's first illness (insanity), August 1453-December 1454**—during which time his wife bore a son *Edward* (October 1453), whom York acknowledged as heir to the throne. In February 1454 *Parliament made York Protector* during the king's illness, and arrested Somerset.
- v. **Henry's sudden recovery, December 1454**—followed by Somerset's release.

Note.—During his ten months' protectorate York governed well. His dismissal in favour of Somerset incensed him and his friends into taking up arms against the favourite. Thus began the Civil War.

C. PERIOD OF CIVIL WAR: FIRST PART OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1455-61.

I. *The Causes of the Civil War.*

i. General causes.

- (1) The feuds between the two chief factions in the country—the court party and the opposition barons—fostered both by the wealth and power of the great nobles, and by the spirit of lawlessness bred by years of unrighteous warfare in France. (2) The superiority of York's claim to the throne by descent. (3) The weak govern-

ment of Henry VI and his favourites, and the consequent loss of England's possessions in France.

ii. **Immediate causes.** (1) The birth of Prince Edward in 1453, depriving York of his position as heir-apparent. (2) York's dismissal from the Protectorate, and the replacement of Somerset in power.

iii. **The supporters of the two parties.**

1. *Yorkist (the 'White Rose' party):*—(1) The powerful Neville family (see *above*), the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Cobham, and other nobles; (2) the trading and manufacturing classes in the towns of the south and east.

2. *Lancastrian (the 'Red Rose' party):*—(1) The Beauforts, the Percies (Northumberland and his son), Lord Clifford, the Dukes of Buckingham and Exeter, and others; (2) the feudal and agricultural classes of the north and west.

II. *Events till the Parliament of Coventry, 1455-9.*

i. **First battle of St. Albans, May 1455**—in which York and the Nevilles defeated Henry's forces. Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford were slain, and Henry was captured.

ii. **Henry's second illness, November 1455-February 1456:** during which York was again Protector. The queen, however, influenced Henry on his recovery to dismiss York and his friends from office.

iii. **Intrigues of Margaret with the French, 1456-7,** to gain help for her party. As a result a French fleet sacked Sandwich and Fowey.

iv. **Reconciliation of Parties at St. Paul's, 1458**—brought about by Henry. Both sides, however, secretly prepared to continue the struggle.

v. **Renewal of fighting, 1459.** 1. At **Bloreheath** (Staffs.) Salisbury defeated Lord Audley, whom the queen had sent to intercept him.

2. At **Ludford** (Salop) the Yorkists were utterly routed, causing York to flee to Ireland, and his eldest son Edward, Earl of March, with Salisbury and Warwick, to flee to Calais.

vi. **Attainder of the Yorkists by the 'packed' Parliament of Coventry, November 1459.** No Parliament had been called before for three years.

III. *Events till the Proclamation of Edward IV, 1460-1.*

i. **Capture of Henry in the battle of Northampton (July 1460)** by Warwick—who with his father and March had landed from Calais in June. Many Lancastrian nobles were slain.

ii. **York declared Protector and heir to throne by Parliament**—a compromise rejected by Queen Margaret, who then hurried north to raise an army for her son.

- iii. **York and Salisbury defeated near Wakefield, December 1460—**
at the former's castle of Sandal—by Margaret. York and his son Rutland were slain, and Salisbury was beheaded at Pontefract castle.

Note.—The vindictive spirit displayed by Margaret and her supporters in their ruthless slaughter of prisoners after Wakefield was followed up by both sides in subsequent battles, and the war degenerated into 'a mere blood-feud between reckless factions'.

- iv. **Victory of Edward of March at Mortimer's Cross, February 2, 1461—**over Owen Tudor and his son Jasper (step-father and half-brother of Henry VI), the former being slain.

- v. **Victory of Margaret at St. Albans, February 1461, over Warwick, and consequent release of Henry.**

Note.—By the deaths of his father Salisbury, and of York, Warwick had become the most powerful baron in the realm, and leader of the Yorkist party. His young cousin Edward, now Duke of York, was as yet content to follow his guidance.

- vi. **Entry into London of Warwick and Prince Edward of York—**who, after having joined forces in the west, reached the capital before Margaret arrived there. The queen then retreated to the north.

- vii. **Proclamation of Edward of York as Edward IV, March 1461—**after which he at once marched north in pursuit of Margaret.

IV. *Causes of the Fall of the House of Lancaster.*

1. The failure of Henry VI to govern the country well at a time when it required a strong ruler.
2. The nation's distrust of the queen, as well as of the king's ministers.
3. The national exhaustion and consequent desire for peace.
4. The fact that the Yorkist leaders were men of proved capacity and energy, and such as were needed to restore peace and order.
5. The original cause—Henry V's war against France (*antea*, p. 103).

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST YORKIST KING: EDWARD IV, 1461-1483

- (i) **CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV.** At his accession, when barely twenty, he was genial and brave, and skilful in war. But, as he grew older, he became easy-going, voluptuous and, to his opponents, extortionate and tyrannical. He took care, however, to maintain his popularity by being affable in public, and easy of access. Yet in his private life he was one of the most vicious kings since John's days.

- (ii) **HIS POLICY**—to free himself as soon as possible from his cousin Warwick's control, and to surround himself with *a new nobility* dependent on himself. After 1471 he grew more despotic, seeking to rule without Parliament by fostering commerce. In *foreign* matters he sought alliance with Burgundy against France.

A. SECOND PERIOD OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1461-71.

I. *Edward's Triumph over the Lancastrians, 1461-4.*

- i. **His two victories in Yorkshire, 1461.** (1) At **Ferrybridge** he and Warwick defeated Lord Clifford, and (2) at **Towton** they routed the Lancastrians with great slaughter; but Margaret and Henry escaped to Scotland. They and many followers were attainted by Parliament, and their lands confiscated.
- ii. **Margaret's efforts in the North, 1462-4.** At first, aided by the Scots and French, she was successful; but in 1464 her forces were defeated at **Hedgeley Moor** (April), and at **Hexham** (May), Somerset and others being captured, and ruthlessly executed.
- iii. **Capture of Henry VI, 1465**—at Clitheroe, Lancashire, while Margaret was in France. He was kept prisoner in the Tower.

II. *The Beginnings of Edward's Quarrel with Warwick, 1464-8.*

- i. **The King's marriage, May 1464, to Elizabeth Woodville**—daughter of Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey. This greatly offended Warwick, who had planned for him to marry a French princess and ally with Louis XI, thus cutting off French support from the Lancastrians. Edward's speedy *creation of a new nobility out of his wife's relatives, the Woodvilles*, to counterbalance the Neville influence, still further offended him.
- ii. **Edward's alliance with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, 1467**—a rebellious subject of Louis XI—to whom also he gave his sister Margaret in marriage.

This was another check to Warwick's policy, and he now began to conspire against Edward and the Woodvilles.

- iii. **Warwick's Plot with Edward's next brother, the Duke of Clarence**, who was ambitious and jealous of the Woodvilles. Warwick gave him his daughter Isabel in marriage.

III. *Renewal of Civil War, 1468-71.*

- i. **Temporary supremacy of Warwick and Clarence, 1469.** 1. Rising in Yorkshire of **Robin of Redesdale** (Sir John Conyers) in support of Warwick.

2. Defeat of the King's troops at **Edgecote**, near Banbury ; and capture of Edward soon after by Warwick and Clarence. He was imprisoned in **Middleham castle** (N.W. Yorks.), and the queen's father and brother were executed.
3. Release of Edward, September 1469, and temporary reconciliation with Warwick.
- ii. **The tables turned on Warwick by Edward, 1470.** (1) Victory of Edward over some Lancastrian rebels at **Losecote Field**, Lincs. (March). (2) Warwick and Clarence then proclaimed as traitors by Edward, supported by a number of faithful Yorkists. (3) Their flight to France to escape arrest.
- iii. **Warwick's alliance with Margaret in France, August 1470—**brought about by Louis XI. Warwick's younger daughter, Anne, was also betrothed to Prince Edward.
- iv. **Warwick's invasion of England, and Edward's flight, September 1470.** Landing at Dartmouth, Warwick and Clarence marched to London and received so much support that Edward fled to Flanders, accompanied by his younger brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester.
- v. **Restoration of Henry VI, October 1470—to the great disappointment of Clarence, who had expected to be made king himself.**

IV. *Edward's Final Triumph, 1471.*

- i. **His return to England in March—**aided by Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Landing at Ravenspur, he was soon joined by Clarence and many former supporters, and he proclaimed himself king.
- ii. **Death of the 'King-Maker' at Barnet, April 14—**where his forces were defeated by those of Edward and his two brothers.
- iii. **Defeat and capture of Margaret at Tewkesbury, May 4, 1471.** Landing tardily at Weymouth, April 14, Margaret marched north to join Jasper Tudor and his Welsh levies. Edward and his brother intercepted her, and gained *the final Yorkist victory at Tewkesbury*. Prince Edward was slain, and Margaret was captured and taken to London.
- iv. **Death of Henry VI, May 21, 1471—**secretly murdered in the Tower. Few survived either of the Nevilles or of the Lancastrian nobles. The chief of these were **Jasper Tudor** and his nephew, **Henry, Earl of Richmond**, the latter of whom returned subsequently from Brittany to become Henry VII.

B. THE LATER YEARS OF EDWARD IV, 1471-83.**I. Domestic Events, 1471-8.**

i. **Edward IV's unconstitutional rule after Tewkesbury.** He seldom called Parliament, and kept it always subservient to him; he collected money illegally by benevolences (first time in 1473); he often subverted the ordinary course of justice; and he allowed private warfare to continue among the noble houses.

ii. **Edward's relations with his two brothers.** 1. **Quarrel with Clarence** owing to (1) the latter's jealousy of his younger brother Gloucester, and (2) his attempts to enhance his own importance by a foreign marriage.

In 1478 Clarence was attainted by a specially-called Parliament, and a fortnight later was murdered in the Tower.

2. **Gloucester's advancement**—as Edward's health failed owing to his evil living. He made him his chief councillor and governor of the northern counties.

II. Edward's War with France, 1475.

i. **His alliance with Charles the Bold, 1474**—who promised him aid in his revival of Henry V's claim to the throne of France.

ii. **His invasion of France from Calais, July 1475.** Finding his ally, however, in no hurry to join him, he made the *Treaty of Pecquigny* with Louis XI without any fighting. *Chief terms*:—

(1) A truce for seven years; (2) Louis to pay Edward 75,000 crowns and a yearly pension; (3) Edward to release Margaret of Anjou, imprisoned since Tewkesbury for a ransom; (4) the Dauphin betrothed to Edward's eldest daughter, Elizabeth.

III. War with Scotland, 1481-2; and Rupture with France, 1483.

i. **Edward's League against James III, 1481, with his brother Albany**—exiled from Scotland through his plottings. Albany was to become king of Scotland, and to acknowledge Edward as his suzerain.

ii. **His Invasion of Scotland, 1482**—resulting in

(1) James III's imprisonment by his nobles, (2) a compromise between the nobles and Edward, by which Berwick was finally restored to England, and Albany became regent.

iii. **Louis XI's breach of the Pecquigny Treaty, 1482**—by repudiating the Dauphin's betrothal to Princess Elizabeth. Edward, deeply insulted, called Parliament in 1483 (the last met 1478), to obtain money for war with France.

IV. *Death of Edward IV.*

- i. Edward died, April 9, 1483, before the war-preparations were completed.
- ii. Characteristics of his reign.
 1. The complete collapse of the Lancastrian cause and its aristocratic supporters, and *foundation of a New Monarchy supported by a new nobility*, dependent on and subservient to it, because largely raised from the middle class.
 2. The unconstitutional and despotic rule of Edward IV after Tewkesbury, shown especially by (1) the infrequency of his Parliaments and his arbitrary use of the three he called, (2) his illegal raising of money by *benevolences, now first made into a system*, (3) his extortions and cruelties practised on his opponents.
 3. The support given to Edward by the commercial and trading classes, whose interests he closely fostered, and with whom he freely mingled in trade.

Note.—It is Henry VII who is generally said to have been the founder of the '*New Monarchy*', i.e. the system of absolute government resting on popular favour, which is the characteristic of Tudor rule; but in reality *he and his son, Henry VIII, built up their absolutism on the foundations already laid by Edward IV.*

CHAPTER V

EDWARD V AND RICHARD III, 1483-1485

A. THE UNCROWNED REIGN OF EDWARD V, April 9-

June 26, 1483.

I. *The Question of the Regency.*

- i. Was the Queen or Gloucester to be Regent? As the new king was only twelve, both his mother and uncle sought to rule in his behalf, and both received support.
- ii. The three Parties in the State.
 1. **The Woodville party**—led by Anthony, Earl Rivers, and Sir Richard Grey—supported the queen.
 2. **The official nobility**—led by Lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley—opposed the Woodvilles, and sought control with, perhaps, Gloucester as Protector.
 3. **The old nobility**—led by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Northumberland—also favoured Gloucester being made Protector.

II. *The successful Plot of Richard of Gloucester.*

- i. **Seizure of the young King**—by Gloucester and Buckingham, while on his way to London. His guardians, Rivers and Grey, were imprisoned in Middleham castle. The queen with her other children then fled into sanctuary at Westminster.
- ii. **Gloucester made Protector**—the young king being placed in the Tower.
- iii. **His violent suppression of opponents**—after gaining the support of Northumberland, Howard, and others. He had Hastings executed, and Archbishop Rotherham of York, and Bishop Morton of Ely—whom he did not trust with his plot—imprisoned in the Tower. Then having obtained Richard, the king's next brother, by a trick, he placed him in the Tower also.
- iv. **His Proclamation as King Richard III (June 26)** by Parliament, largely through the influence of Buckingham. Rivers and Grey were soon after executed.

B. RICHARD III, 1483-5.

- (i) **CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.** He was a brave and able leader, a good administrator, and, until his accession, was regarded as a staid, pious prince. In appearance he was thin, rather short in stature, and deformed slightly—though not monstrously as the traditional Tudor description made him appear to be.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** After securing the throne he aimed to conciliate all classes by encouraging trade and ruling well. He made a royal progress through the country, to pacify it. In *foreign affairs* he tried to strengthen his position by a truce with Scotland, and by conciliating the Papacy.

I. *The Rebellion of Buckingham, 1483.*

- i. **Murder of Edward V and his brother in the Tower**—by Richard's orders, while he was still on his tour round the country.
- ii. **Buckingham's conspiracy**—formed with Bishop Morton and the Woodvilles to marry Henry of Richmond (then in Brittany) to Elizabeth (Edward IV's daughter), and place him on the throne instead of Richard.

The rising failed, because Buckingham was delayed in Wales by the flooded Severn, and Richmond was prevented by a storm from landing on the south coast. Richard captured and executed Buckingham at Salisbury.

II. *Richard's only Parliament, 1484. Deaths of his Son and Queen.*

- i. **Attainder of the rebels** by the subservient Parliament. All but Buckingham, however, had escaped abroad, so their lands were confiscated.

- ii. **Richard's useful legislation.** 1. *To please the people generally:* benevolences were declared illegal, and maintenance and liveries forbidden.
2. *To please the trading classes:* consuls were appointed in foreign towns, and duties were placed on certain foreign goods.
- iii. **Deaths of the Prince of Wales (1484) and the Queen (1485).** The former, Prince Edward, was Richard's only child. Richard then adopted as heir **John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln**, son of his eldest sister.

III. *The successful Invasion of Henry of Richmond, 1485.*

- i. **Landing of Henry at Milford Haven, August 7**—accompanied by his uncle, Jasper Tudor, and Bishop Morton; and joined by many Yorkist and Lancastrian supporters as he advanced into the midlands.
- ii. **Battle of Bosworth, and death of Richard III, August 23.**

The king met the advancing army at Market Bosworth (Leicestershire); but, being deserted by Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William Stanley, he was defeated and slain.

Results:

Henry Tudor's victory, due to a coalition of Yorkists and Lancastrians against Richard III, ended the thirty years' Wars of the Roses, and changed the reigning dynasty from Yorkist to Tudor.

IV. *Some Results of the Wars of the Roses.*

- i. **On the Three Estates.** 1. *The destruction of most of the old nobility, and the creation by the Yorkist and Tudor kings of a new nobility, who were, therefore, entirely subservient to them.*
2. *The collapse of the influence of the Clergy, enabling Henry VIII later on easily to accomplish both the separation of the English Church from Rome, and the abolition of the monasteries.*
3. *The isolation and weakness of the Commons in Parliament, when thus deprived of the support of the other two Estates.*
- ii. **On Parliament.** The consequent 'eclipse of Parliament', and its lapse into a position of subserviency to the Crown in both the Yorkist and Tudor periods. *The King's Privy Council therefore usurped much of the power of Parliament.*
- iii. **On the Monarchy.** A great increase of power to the Yorkist and Tudor kings, resulting in a period of absolutism often called '*The New Monarchy*'.
- iv. **On Commerce and Industry.** Their rapid development owing largely to the fostering care shown to them by all the Yorkist and Tudor monarchs, in order both to keep the country at peace and to gain revenues without having to call Parliament.

BOOK VI

THE FIRST PERIOD OF MODERN ENGLAND: ABSOLUTISM UNDER THE TUDOR KINGS, AND PREPARATION FOR EXPANSION ABROAD, 1485-1603

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK VI

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Increased flow of Keltic Welsh into England after 1542 [ch. II, p. 135].
2. Beginning of 'plantations' of English in Ireland [ch. II, p. 135 ; ch. V, p. 149].

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land and Feudalism.** (1) *Overthrow of the Feudal System completed* [ch. I, p. 126] ; but continuation of the old feudal spirit and social relations between landowners and their tenants and labourers in many parts till the nineteenth century. (2) *Redistribution of masses of baronial and Church lands to the new nobility*, (a) after the Wars of the Roses, (b) after the Reformation [ch. I, p. 123 ; ch. II, pp. 133, 134, 135 ; ch. III, p. 138 ; ch. IV, p. 142 ; ch. V, p. 149]. (3) *Continued spread of enclosures and sheep-farming*, increasing the wealth of the new nobility, and intensifying the poverty of the workers [ch. I, p. 126 ; ch. II, p. 134 ; ch. III, p. 138 ; ch. IV, p. 143 ; ch. V, pp. 144, 153]. (4) Growth of agrarian troubles in Ireland owing to the Reformation [ch. II, p. 135 ; ch. V, pp. 149, 153].

2. **Society.** (1) Continued growth of the middle classes in number, wealth, and influence [ch. I, pp. 122, 126 ; ch. II, p. 136 ; ch. V, pp. 144, 145, 153]. (2) Improved condition of the workers generally after 1568 [ch. V, pp. 145, 154]. (3) *The first Poor-Law* [ch. V, p. 153].

3. **Commerce and Industries.** (1) Their encouragement first adopted as a national policy—the **Mercantile System**—under the Tudors [ch. I, pp. 122, 124, 125, 126 ; ch. II, pp. 128, 136 ; ch. V, pp. 144, 148, 152]. (2) Beginning of maritime enterprise and of trade rivalry with Spain in the New World [ch. I, pp. 125, 126, 127 ; ch. V, pp. 148, 150, 151-2]. (3) Foundation of the first English colony [ch. V, p. 148]. (4) Beginning of *Chartered Trading Companies* [ch. V, p. 153], and of trade rivalry with Dutch and Portuguese in the East Indies.

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) The Revival of Learning [ch. I, p. 127 ; ch. II, pp. 128, 137 ; ch. III, p. 140]. (2) Consequent great era of Elizabethan literature, especially poetry and the drama.

5. **Economic and social laws** [ch. I, pp. 125, 126 ; ch. II, p. 133 ; ch. III, p. 138 ; ch. V, p. 153].

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Separation of the English Church from Rome, and ecclesiastical supremacy of the King** [ch. II, pp. 131-3].
2. **The gradual Reformation** [ch. II, pp. 133, 134; ch. III, pp. 138-40; ch. V, p. 145].
3. **Resistance to the Reformation in England** [ch. II, pp. 134, 135, 136; ch. III, p. 139; ch. IV, pp. 141, 142, 143; ch. V, pp. 147, 149-51].
4. **Rise of Puritanism** [ch. III, p. 139; ch. V, pp. 148-9, 152].
5. **The Reformation in Ireland** [ch. II, p. 135], and resistance to it [ch. V, pp. 149, 153].
6. **The Reformation in Scotland** [ch. III, p. 137; ch. V, p. 146].
7. **Beginning of English support of foreign Protestantism** [ch. II, p. 135; ch. III, pp. 138, 139; ch. V, pp. 146, 148, 151, 152].
8. **Religious persecution:** (1) of Roman Catholics [ch. V, pp. 147, 149, 150, 152; (2) of Puritans [ch. IV, p. 143; ch. V, pp. 149, 150, 152].
9. **Rise of the High Church party** [ch. V, p. 152].

(iv) POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Dynastic and other political rebellions** [ch. I, pp. 122-3; ch. IV, pp. 141, 142; ch. V, pp. 147, 150, 151].
2. **Political subordination of the nobility to the Tudor monarchs** [ch. I, pp. 123, 126; ch. II, pp. 136, 137; ch. III, p. 137; ch. IV, p. 143].
3. **Political subordination of the clergy and the Church** [ch. II, pp. 132, 133, 134; ch. III, pp. 138, 139; ch. V, pp. 145, 152].
4. **Ireland** [ch. I, p. 123; ch. II, p. 135; ch. V, pp. 149, 153].
5. **Foreign relations.** (1) Rise of the *theory of the Balance of Power*, and of *modern diplomacy* [ch. I, pp. 124, 125, 127; ch. II, pp. 128, 129-31, 135, 136, 137; ch. IV, pp. 141, 143; ch. V, pp. 144, 146, 148, 151-2, 154]. (2) *Wars with France and alliances with Spain and the Empire* [ch. I, pp. 124, 125; ch. II, pp. 129, 130, 135; ch. III, p. 138; ch. IV, p. 143; ch. V, pp. 144-5]. (3) *War with Spain and alliances with France and the Netherlands* [ch. V, pp. 148, 150-2]. (4) *Increase of England's importance in continental affairs* under Henry VII and Henry VIII, *decline* under Edward VI and Mary, and *increase again* under Elizabeth. (5) *Relations with Scotland* [ch. I, pp. 123, 124, 125; ch. II, pp. 129, 130, 135; ch. III, pp. 137-8, 139; ch. V, pp. 144, 146-7]. (6) *With the Netherlands* [ch. I, pp. 123, 124, 125; ch. V, pp. 148, 150, 151-2]. (7) *With the Empire* [ch. II, pp. 129, 130, 131, 135; ch. III, pp. 137, 139; ch. IV, pp. 141, 142; ch. V, pp. 152, 154]. (8) *With the Papacy* [ch. I, p. 124; ch. II, pp. 129, 130, 131-3, 134, 135; ch. IV, pp. 141-3; ch. V, pp. 145, 147, 149-50, 152].

(v) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Subservience of the Tudor Parliaments to the New Monarchy** [ch. I, pp. 124, 126; ch. II, pp. 130, 133, 134, 136; ch. III, pp. 138, 140; ch. IV, pp. 141-2, 143; ch. V, pp. 145, 149-50].
2. **Increased importance of the Privy Council** [ch. I, pp. 123, 124; ch. II, pp. 128, 131, 134, 135, 136; ch. III, pp. 137, 138-9, 140; ch. IV, p. 141; ch. V, pp. 150, 153].
3. **Frequent abuse of the Royal Prerogative**—implied in the absolutism of the Tudor monarchs.

4. **Gradual revival of Parliament's independence** [ch. V, pp. 152, 153].

5. **Foundation of our modern naval system** [ch. II, pp. 128, 137; ch. IV, p. 143; ch. V, pp. 148, 150, 151-2, 154].

6. **Constitutional Laws** [ch. I, pp. 123, 125; ch. II, pp. 133, 136; ch. IV, pp. 142, 143; ch. V, pp. 145, 153].

TABLE TO SHOW THE TUDOR DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII.

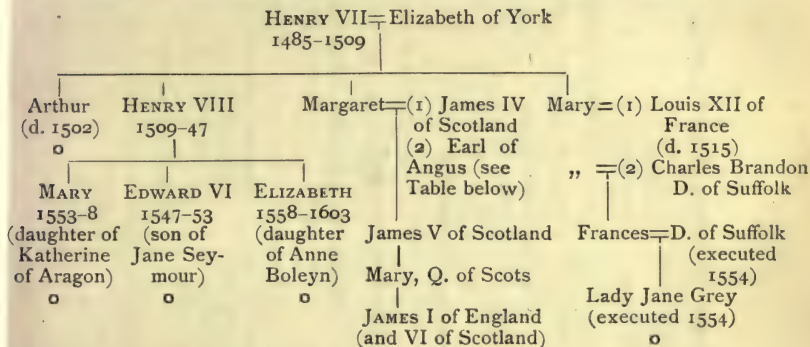


TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1406-1603.

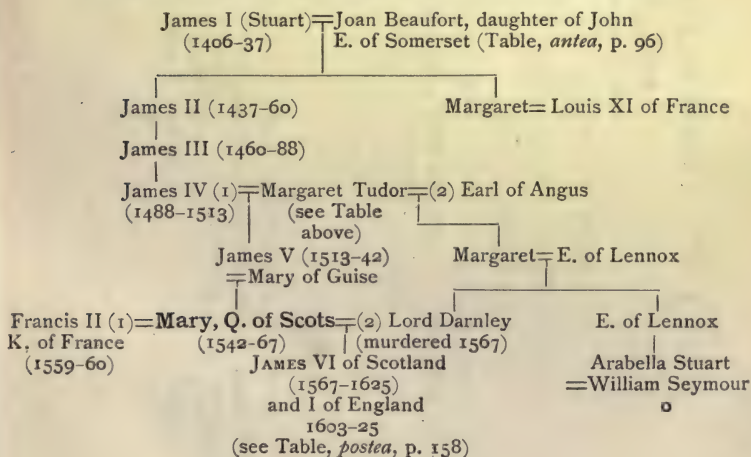
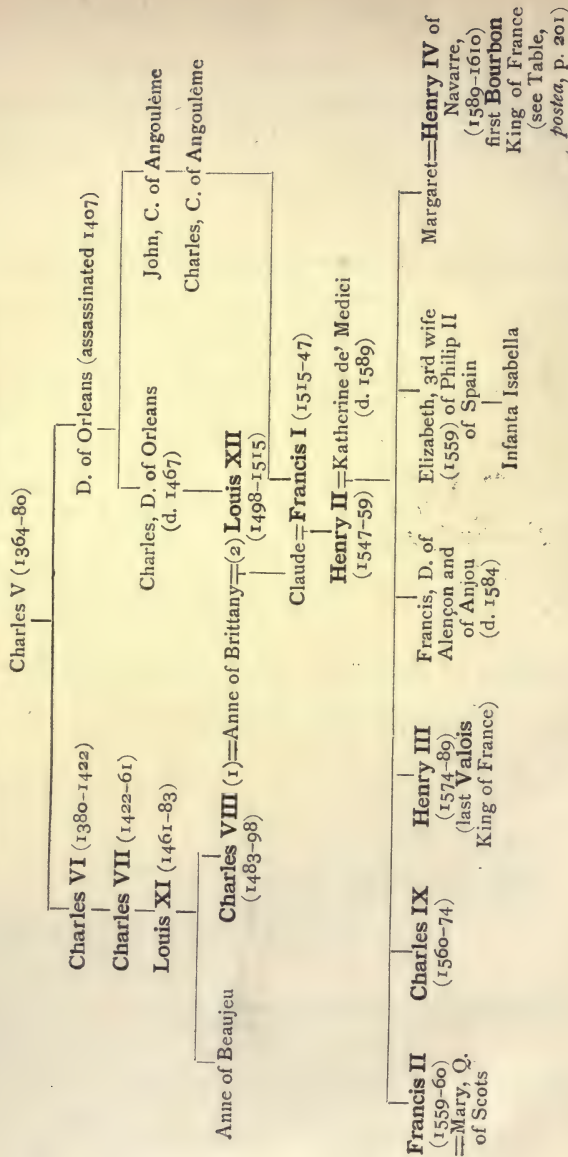
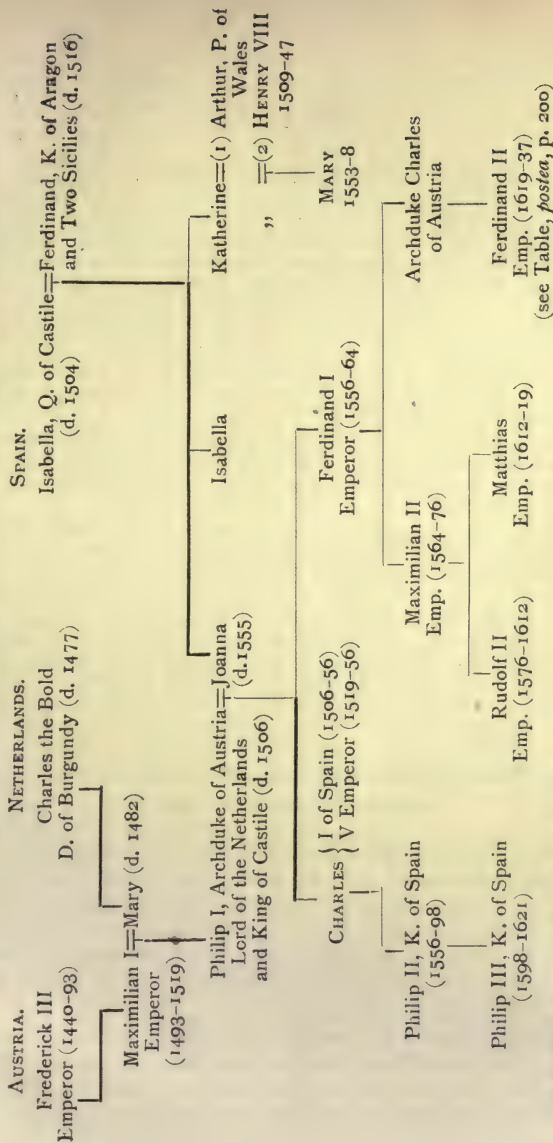


TABLE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 1364-1610.



**TABLE TO SHOW (1) THE DESCENT OF CHARLES V,
(2) THE HAPSBURG EMPERORS AND SPANISH KINGS, 1440-1637.**



[N.B. The Spanish Hapsburgs died out 1700.
See Table, *postea*, p. 200]

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST TUDOR KING: HENRY VII, 1485-1509

- (i) HENRY VII'S CLAIMS TO THE THRONE. 1. *By descent*—from Edward III through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. This claim was weak, however, because (1) all the Beauforts, Gaunt's sons by his second marriage, had been excluded by Parliament from claiming the throne, and (2) every Yorkist descendant had a better title, through Lionel, Duke of Clarence, than Henry had.
2. *By conquest*: no stronger than Henry IV's had been. Henry's real title to the throne, like that of Henry IV, was by *election of Parliament*.
- (ii) HIS CHARACTER. Henry VII was strong-willed, patient, and sagacious; a wise law-giver, and an able statesman. On the other hand he was parsimonious, suspicious, unscrupulous, and, as he grew older, morose and rapacious.
- (iii) HIS POLICY—was threefold: (1) to establish his dynasty firmly, (2) to secure domestic peace and strong government; and (3) to make for himself in foreign affairs an influential position among European nations.

These three objects he achieved: (1) by rooting out all rival claimants to the throne; (2) by decreasing the power of the nobles while encouraging the middle classes in maritime and commercial enterprise; and (3) by making alliances with the chief foreign powers through treaties and marriages.

A. PERIOD OF OPPOSITION AT HOME, AND OF DIFFICULTIES ABROAD, 1485-99.

I. *Henry's successful Foundation of a Dynasty.*

- i. **First measures of security.** (1) After Bosworth he had himself crowned, and called a Parliament to sanction his accession. (2) He imprisoned in the Tower the Yorkist Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence. (3) In January 1486 he married **Elizabeth Woodville**, daughter of Edward IV, and thus united the Houses of Lancaster and York.
- ii. **Rising of Lord Lovel, 1486**—easily crushed by Henry, Lovel fleeing to the protection of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, in Flanders.

Note.—Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, was Edward IV's sister, and thus hostile to Henry VII. She ruled Flanders on behalf of Philip, little son of her step-daughter Mary (see Table, p. 121).

iii. **Insurrection of Lambert Simnel (1487)**—who personated Edward, Earl of Warwick (still in the Tower). (1) Aided by Margaret of Burgundy, Lovel, and the Earl of Lincoln, he landed in Ireland, where, supported by the Earl of Kildare and other Yorkists, he was crowned as Edward VI. (2) Crossing to Cheshire with Lovel and others, he was defeated by Henry and captured at **Stoke (Notts)**. Lincoln was killed, Lovel disappeared.

iv. **Henry's creation of the new Star Chamber Court, November 1487**—to give him greater control over his nobles. The new court, formed from an old Privy Council committee, was sanctioned by his second Parliament. Sitting at Westminster, it had power to suppress maintenance and livery, rioting, intimidation, and similar offences by fines and imprisonment.

Result—the *Peerage* was completely subjected to the Crown by Henry VII, just as the *Church* was afterwards subjected by his son, Henry VIII.

v. **Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck, 1492-9.** 1. Appearing in Ireland, 1492, he proclaimed himself as Richard, Duke of York (second son of Edward IV).

2. Later he was welcomed in France by Charles VIII, but was compelled to withdraw thence by the *Treaty of Étaples*, November 1492 (see below). He then fled to Margaret in Flanders.

3. *From Flanders* he made futile attacks on Deal and Waterford, 1495; but by Henry's treaty, *Magnus Intercursus*, 1496 (see below), with young Philip of Burgundy, he was excluded from Flanders.

4. *In Scotland* James IV welcomed him, invaded England in his behalf, and aided him in trying to rouse again the Cornishmen recently defeated by Henry at **Blackheath** (1497), in revolt against his heavy taxation. Landing in Cornwall Warbeck marched to Taunton, but failed to renew the revolt. He surrendered to Henry, who imprisoned him in the Tower.

5. In 1499 he and the Earl of Warwick planned to escape from the Tower, but both were captured and executed.

II. *Henry VII's improved Government of Ireland, 1494-9.*

i. **Causes of Henry's interference in Ireland.**

(1) The help given by the Anglo-Irish Yorkists, first to Simnel, then to Warbeck; (2) Henry's determination to curb the power and lawlessness of the Irish ruling classes.

ii. **Poyning's Law, 1494**—passed by the Irish Parliament at Drogheda, at the behest of **Sir Edward Poyning**s, the Lord Deputy whom Henry sent in 1494 to displace the Yorkist Earl of Kildare. This Act—

- (1) extended all existing English laws to Ireland, and (2) prevented the Irish Parliament from passing laws unsanctioned by the king's Council.

Note.—Poynings' Law remained in force until 1782.

III. *Henry VII's International Relations, 1487-99.*

- i. **War with France about Brittany, 1489-92**—to prevent the French regent, Anne of Beaujeu, annexing Brittany and thus completing the consolidation of all France under her young brother Charles VIII.
 - (1) Alliance of Henry with Ferdinand of Spain, 1489, followed by the dispatch of troops to Brittany.
 - (2) Marriage of Charles VIII to Anne, heiress of Brittany, 1491, followed by annexation of the duchy to France.
 - (3) Invasion of France, 1492, by Henry's troops, and investment of Boulogne. This caused Charles to make with Henry the *Treaty of Étaples* (November 1492), by which he agreed to pay him a large sum of money, and to refuse shelter to his enemies (Warbeck and others).
- ii. **The Magnus Intercursus (i.e. the Great Intercourse) with Flanders, 1496**—due partly to the influence of Ferdinand of Spain with Philip. The treaty—
 - (1) re-established good trade-relations between England and Flanders, and (2) undertook that Flanders should no longer shelter Henry's enemies.
- iii. **Relations with Spain and Scotland, 1492-8.**
 1. *With Spain* (an increasingly important country, owing to the expulsion of the Moors thence, and the discovery of America under Spanish auspices, both in 1492) Henry maintained his alliance, and in 1495 he joined Ferdinand's league with the Pope, the Emperor, Milan and Venice, to resist Charles VIII's invasion of Italy.
 2. *With Scotland* he made peace in 1498, which lasted till 1513.

IV. *Henry VII and Parliament, 1485-99.*

- i. **Changed character of Parliament after the Wars of the Roses.**

With the downfall of the land-owning baronage, who had since the institution of the 40s. freeholders in 1430 held chief control of the elections to Parliament, that control passed almost entirely into the hands of the king and his sheriffs. *Thenceforward, nearly to the end of the Tudor period, Parliament remained subservient to the Crown.*
- ii. **Chief Acts of Parliament, 1485-99:** during which period, while his throne was insecure, Henry called frequent Parliaments (six in all).
 1. In 1487-8 several laws passed against disorder, and the Star Chamber established.

2. In 1495: (1) Poynings' Law sanctioned by Parliament, and (2) the *Statute de Facto* passed to reassure all wavering supporters during Warbeck's rebellion.
3. At various dates laws passed to regulate the increasing trade-gilds, and to encourage trade with foreign countries.

Note.—The year 1499, when Warbeck and Warwick were executed, marks the end of Yorkist opposition to Henry. The rest of his reign was secure and peaceful.

B. PERIOD OF PEACE AT HOME AND IMPORTANCE ABROAD, 1499-1509.

I. Henry VII's Foreign Relations, 1499-1509.

- i. Summary of the European situation at close of fifteenth century.
 1. *Rise into prominence of three great despotic powers—Spain, France, and England*—through the suppression of their feudatory baronage (in the first also through the expulsion of the Moors), followed in each country by the concentration of government under control of the Crown.
 2. *Development of rivalry between France and Spain*, lasting for two centuries, to secure predominant influence in Italy and Europe.
 - (1) In 1494 Charles VIII had seized the Papal States and Naples.
 - (2) In 1496 Spain and the Empire had allied against him by the marriage of Maximilian's son, Philip, to Juana, Ferdinand's eldest daughter (*Table*, p. 121), thus extending the area of international strife to the Netherlands and Germany.
 - (3) In 1498 Louis XII succeeded Charles VIII, and, continuing his foreign policy, seized Milan in 1499, and threatened anew the Papal States and Italy.
- ii. **Marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon, 1501 (betrothed 1489)**—after two years' haggling between Ferdinand and Henry over the dowry.
- iii. **Death of Arthur, 1502**—followed by Katherine's betrothal in 1505 to his brother Henry, aged fourteen. The marriage took place by Papal dispensation in 1509.
- iv. **Marriage of Henry's elder daughter, Margaret, to James IV, 1503**—with very important consequences to England and Scotland. It led, just a century later, to the union of the English and Scottish crowns.
- v. **Henry's second treaty with Flanders, 1503—the Malus Intercursus**, i. e. *the Bad Treaty*, so named by the Flemings because exacted by Henry from the Archduke Philip while sheltering from severe weather in Weymouth Harbour. By it Henry also gained the surrender of the Earl of Suffolk, Edward IV's nephew.

II. *Henry VII as Absolute Monarch, 1499-1509.*

- i. **Henry's neglect to call Parliament**—when once he felt safe on the throne. *During the last ten years of his reign Parliament met only once.*
- ii. **His exactions from the nobles and the wealthy.** 1. To maintain his power without an army (1) he won the support of the trading classes by constant care of their interests, (2) he kept a firm check on the nobles by a system of spies, and (3) he levied benevolences, through his chancellor, **Cardinal Morton**, from the great land-owners and the wealthy rather than from the poorer classes.
2. After Morton's death, 1500, he employed his agents, **Empson** and **Dudley**, to extort money from wealthy persons by most hateful legal devices.

Note.—As a result of his exactions, Henry VII became the richest monarch in Europe.

- iii. **His encouragement of commerce and maritime enterprise**—more than any previous English king had done. (1) He made numerous commercial treaties with foreign countries; (2) he encouraged various trades and industries; (3) he promoted English shipping by making navigation laws; and (4) he encouraged maritime enterprise by sending **John Cabot and his son Sebastian** in 1497 on a voyage which resulted in *the discovery of Newfoundland*.
- iv. **Death of Henry VII, 1509**—at the age of fifty-two.

III. *The Work of Henry VII's reign.*

- i. **He established a despotic monarchy**—which, following upon a period of anarchy, was probably the form of government the country most needed at the time. He did it *in three ways*:—(1) by a wise and firm government he restored peace and order; (2) by encouraging industries and commerce *he promoted the development of a strong and wealthy middle class*, which supported his rule and that of his successors; and (3) by continuing Edward IV's policy of restrictive laws against the baronage *he broke down the remains of the old Feudal System, and brought the nobles permanently under the Crown.*
- ii. **He promoted the future welfare of England by**—(1) the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland, (2) the establishment of better government in Ireland; (3) the voyage of the Cabots, which opened up North America to the western ports of England; and (4) the restoration of England's permanent importance among the nations of Europe.

NOTE TO HENRY VII'S REIGN

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY, 1450-1520.

Some Causes of, and Events marking, the beginning of Modern History in Europe.

- i. **The Consolidation of European States under powerful absolute Monarchs**—among whom sprang up rivalries and wars. *The preservation of the Balance of Power* became henceforward the guiding principle in international relations; and the need arose for international diplomacy.
- ii. **The Revival of Learning**—largely due to the revived study of Greek brought about by the Turkish capture of Constantinople, 1453, and the flight of Greek teachers into Italy. There **the New Learning** quickly caught attention and spread thence over Europe, giving a strong stimulation not only to the study of classical and other literature, but also to intellectual movements generally.
- iii. **The Invention of Printing**—which brought knowledge within the reach of the people. Originating in Germany about 1440, the art reached England in Edward IV's reign, the first English printing-press being set up by **William Caxton at Westminster, 1476.**
- iv. **The Invention of Gunpowder**—which changed the whole character of warfare, and established the power of the New Monarchs over Feudalism. Gunpowder had come into general use by the end of the fifteenth century.
- v. **The Geographical Discoveries** following from the improved maps and instruments made by **Prince Henry of Portugal (d. 1460).**
 1. *The chief discoveries were:—*
 - (1) *The new route to the East via the Cape of Good Hope*—discovered by the Portuguese: (a) In 1486 **Bartholomew Diaz** first rounded the Cape; and (b) in 1497 **Vasco da Gama** first reached India by the same route.
 - (2) *The new world of America across the Atlantic*—discovered by Spaniards and English: (a) In 1492-3 **Columbus** reached the West Indies, and discovered America for Spain; and (b) in 1497 **John Cabot and his son Sebastian**, sent by Henry VII, discovered Newfoundland for England.
 2. *The chief results of these discoveries were:—*(1) The foundation of colonial dominions by the states of western Europe—by *Spain* in Central and South America; by *Portugal* in the East Indies and Brazil; and later by *Holland, England, and France*, who entered into rivalry with Spain and Portugal for colonial and maritime supremacy.
 - (2) The transference of the chief highways of trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.
 - (3) A vast extension of popular knowledge of, and interest in, the world at large.

- (4) A permanent increase in commercial and industrial activity, with a corresponding increase in individual and national wealth.
- vi. **The Reformation**—which broke up the ecclesiastical unity of Western Christendom into Protestant and Roman Catholic sections, and was the chief instrument in the destruction of the *political* (as well as the spiritual) supremacy of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII, 1509-1547

- (i) **CHARACTER OF HENRY VIII.** With great physical strength, a handsome person, and high mental ability, he had a good education, and showed great interest in theology and the New Learning. He was shrewd both in choosing ministers and in cultivating popularity among his subjects. On the other hand, he was selfish and ruthlessly wilful, allowing neither person nor thing to stand in the way of his own interests or pleasures.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** 1. *Domestic*: (1) to maintain his father's despotic system of government, through ministers on whom he could throw all responsibility for unpopular acts; (2) to encourage commerce and industries; and (3) to build a navy.
2. *Foreign*: at first, to attempt the reconquest of France in alliance with that country's rivals. Later, he adopted Wolsey's wiser policy of maintaining the balance of power in Europe by siding alternately with Charles V and Francis I, according as either seemed to be getting too powerful. After 1530 he naturally also adopted a persistent anti-papal policy.

A. PERIOD OF EVENTS TILL THE FALL OF WOLSEY, 1509-29.

I. *Early Events, 1509-II.*

- i. Henry's execution of Empson and Dudley, 1510—to win popularity.
- ii. His formation of a popular King's Council—including many active workers for the spread of the New Learning.
- iii. His patronage of the Oxford Reformers: Dean Colet being made court preacher, Sir Thomas More called to court, and Erasmus made professor of Greek at Cambridge.

Note.—In 1510 Colet founded **St. Paul's School** under a new system of instruction and discipline. Later, Wolsey founded Cardinal College (now Christ Church) at Oxford, and a college at Ipswich.

II. *Henry's first Interference in Foreign Affairs, 1511-14.*

i. Condition of affairs on the Continent.

In 1510, after a Franco-Spanish war against Venice, Pope Julius II formed the *Holy League* with Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and Venice, to drive the French out of Italy. In 1511 Henry VIII was induced to join it.

Note.—Italy at that time consisted of five chief divisions—the republics of Venice and Florence, the duchy of Milan (under French control), the Papal States, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily (under Spanish control).

ii. Henry's First War with France (1511-14) and with Scotland (1513-14).

1. *Causes.* (1) Henry's youthful ambition to reconquer France, and (2) the desire of the allies to protect the Holy See from French designs.

2. *Events.* (1) In 1512 English troops were dispatched to join Spain in an invasion of Guienne. Ferdinand used them to conquer Navarre instead.

(2) In 1513 Henry invaded northern France. He won the **Battle of Spurs** at Guinegate and captured **Théroutanne** and **Tournay**.

(3) Also in 1513, the Earl of Surrey defeated the Scots at **Flodden** (Northumberland). James IV and most of his nobles were slain. Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk.

(4) Peace made with France and Scotland, 1514. Louis XII was to pay a million crowns and to marry Henry's younger sister, Mary (aged fifteen).

Note.—The success of the war was largely due to the organization and advice of **Thomas Wolsey**, a cleric and Henry's chief adviser.

III. *Rise and Administration of Wolsey, 1512-29.*

i. **Wolsey's early career.** Born 1471, the son of a wealthy tradesman of Ipswich. After greatly distinguishing himself at Oxford, he entered the Church. Later, Henry VII employed him on diplomatic missions.

ii. **His promotion under Henry VIII.** He won the young king's favour by his wit and address, and became his chief adviser. In 1514 he was rewarded for his services in the French war by the archbishopric of York. In 1515 he was made Chancellor by the king, and Cardinal and Papal Legate by Pope Leo X. He had now an enormous revenue, which he spent with such pomp and arrogance as to rouse the jealousy and hatred of the nobility. For seventeen years he was Henry's most powerful subject in both Church and State.

iii. **His foreign policy**—was essentially one of peace. After 1514 his great aim was to gain for Henry control of the balance of power in

Europe, in order to prevent the harmful wars then endangering the Church and Italy.

IV. *Foreign Affairs between the First and Second French Wars, 1515-21.*

i. **The Trio of ambitious young Rulers in western Europe, 1516:—**

- (1) In England, **Henry VIII** (aged 25), (2) in France, **Francis I** (aged 24), who succeeded his cousin Louis XII (died 1515), and at once renewed Italian troubles by recapturing Milan; (3) in Spain, **Charles I** (aged 16), who succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand (died 1516), and thus added to his own dominions—of the Netherlands and Franche Comté—Spain, the two Sicilies, and America.

ii. **The Treaty of London, 1518**—formed through Wolsey's agency by Francis, Charles, and Henry, the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Leo X. It prevented war breaking out between Francis and Charles concerning Italy.

iii. **The contest for the Empire**—arising from Maximilian's death, January 1519. Charles I, as his grandson (Table, *antea*, p. 121), succeeded to his hereditary dominions of Austria; but Francis I competed with him for the Empire. *On the former being elected as Charles V, he became the most powerful ruler in Europe.*

iv. **The Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520**—at which, amid great splendour, Francis met Henry at Sangatte to arrange an alliance, but without result. Soon afterwards Charles met Henry at Gravelines, and signed a treaty with him.

V. *Second War with France (1522-5) and with Scotland (1523).*

i. **Causes.** (1) An alliance, 1521, between Henry, Charles V, and the Pope, and (2) the invasion of northern Spain by Francis I.

ii. **Events.** 1. In 1522, Henry's invasion of northern France; but little was effected.

2. In 1523, Scottish invasion of northern England, defeated by Earl of Surrey, son of the victor of Flodden. Anglo-Scottish peace made, lasting eighteen years.

3. In 1524-5, war between Charles and Francis in Italy. The latter was defeated and captured at **Pavia, 1525**, and the French driven from Italy.

4. **Henry in financial difficulties owing to war.** In 1523 he called Parliament (the first since 1515), and through Wolsey obtained a subsidy with great difficulty. In 1525 the Chancellor asked for an '*Amicable Loan*' from the people, but was refused, and riots broke out.

5. Peace consequently made with France, 1525, through Wolsey

iii. **Change of English policy by alliance with France, 1527.**

This was due to (1) Charles V's victories over France having quite changed the balance of power and made him too predominant; (2) the sack of Rome, 1527, by his troops; and (3) the non-fulfilment of his promise to obtain the papacy for Wolsey, either in 1521 or 1523 when it fell vacant.

Note.—Henry's alliance with Spain, his wife's native land, was now ended, and he was free to pursue his long-desired object of a divorce from Katherine.

VI. *Wolsey and the First Stage of the Divorce Question, 1527-9.*

- i. **Origin of the Question**—in Henry's desire for a son and heir, through fear that his daughter Mary might not be accepted as queen.

Note.—He had removed her chief male rival, the **Duke of Buckingham**, by his execution on charges of treason, in 1521.

- ii. **Henry's first effort to obtain a divorce**—his appeal to the Pope, 1527, professing religious scruples about the legality of marriage with his brother's widow. Clement VIII, being in Charles V's power, dared not grant divorce, but ordered an inquiry into the case in London.

The Papal Court of Inquiry—presided over by Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey—was resisted by Katherine. She appealed to the Pope, who called the case to Rome, 1529—equivalent to dismissing Henry's appeal.

- iii. **Fall of Wolsey, 1529.** Angry at this failure, Henry threw the blame on Wolsey. He ruthlessly deprived him of all his state offices, and banished him to his archbishopric of York. Recalled to answer charges of treason, Wolsey died on his way to London at Leicester, November 1530.

B. THE DIVORCE QUESTION, AND CONSEQUENT SEPARATION FROM ROME, 1529-36.

I. *Second Stage of the Divorce Question, 1529-33.*

- i. **Henry's change of policy towards the Pope.** Having failed to obtain a divorce by direct appeal, he resolved to try the indirect method of attacking the papal authority and revenue in England.

- ii. **The advisers and instruments of his new policy:**

- (1) *Sir Thomas More*, who took Wolsey's place as Chancellor, but proved too scrupulous for Henry; (2) *Thomas Cromwell*, Wolsey's late secretary but a layman, who became Henry's chief agent in his new policy; (3) *Thomas Cranmer*, a learned cleric who aided

Henry in dealing with papal matters (made Archbishop of Canterbury 1533); (4) *The Seven Years' Parliament*, 1529-36, called by Henry that he might be constitutionally armed in his coercion of the Pope.

iii. **His endeavours to coerce the Pope, 1530-2:**

- (1) by obtaining (on Cranmer's advice) an opinion from the European universities against his marriage with Katherine; (2) by forcing the English clergy to acknowledge him as Head of the Church. 1531; (3) by cutting off, through Parliament, all sources of papal revenue, 1532, such as Annates, Peter's Pence, &c. (see *below*).

iv. **His secret marriage with Anne Boleyn (January 1533)**—a young lady of the court with whom he had fallen in love.

v. **A divorce from Katherine granted by Archbishop Cranmer's Court, May 1533**—by which also Henry's second marriage was declared lawful.

vi. **Birth of the Princess Elizabeth, September 1533**—followed by an *Act of Succession*, 1534, passed by Parliament, confirming the decrees of Cranmer's Court, fixing the succession to throne in the infant Princess, and declaring Princess Mary illegitimate.

Note.—More (resigned 1532) and Bishop Fisher of Rochester, while accepting the succession, refused to disavow the Pope's authority, and were put in the Tower.

II. *First Stage of the Reformation of the English Church.*

i. **Character of the Reformation in England**—partly a political and partly a doctrinal or religious movement. It occurred in three stages:—

1. *Political*: the separation of the Church from papal authority by Henry VIII.
2. *Doctrinal*: the institution of Protestant doctrines and of services in English, and the abolition of mass, vestments, and images under Edward VI. Mary, however, undid temporarily the work of both her father and her brother.
3. *Political and Doctrinal*: the restoration of Protestantism in both authority and doctrine under Elizabeth.

ii. **Chief causes of the Reformation.**

1. *General causes*:—(1) The long-existing misuse by the Popes of their authority in temporal matters [refer to the reigns of *John, Henry III, Edward III, Richard II*]; (2) the bad living and worldliness prevailing both at the papal court and among the clergy generally; (3) the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Church; (4) the jealousy with which the laity regarded the wealth and privileges of the clergy; (5) the continued existence of Lollardy in England, fostering a spirit of religious independence and criticism; (6) the

influence of the Revival of Learning, and the Invention of Printing.

2. *Immediate and special causes in England*:—(1) The Pope's refusal of a divorce to Henry; and (2) the desire of a majority of the middle classes that England should be independent from all foreign control in spiritual as well as in political and financial matters.

iii. Chief Events of the Reformation, and work of the Seven Years' Parliament.

1. **Disciplinary reforms** among clergy, forbidding pluralities, benefit of clergy, &c.
2. **Act of Annates, 1532**, forbidding payment of first-fruits, &c., to Rome.
3. **Act of Appeals, 1533**, forbidding appeals to any authority outside England.
4. **Act of Supremacy, 1534**, confirming Henry as 'Supreme Head of the Church in England'.

Note.—More and Fisher, already in prison, were beheaded in 1535 for persistently refusing to acknowledge Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy.

5. **Cromwell made 'Vicar-General of the Kingdom', 1535**—after having in Parliament achieved this 'divorce from Rome'. Now becoming Henry's lay deputy over the Church and clergy, he ruled both unscrupulously.
6. **Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries (some 200) in 1536**—by Act of Parliament. Henry seized their lands and wealth, and turned the monks adrift.

C. HENRY'S SUPREMACY IN CHURCH AND STATE, 1536-47.

I. *His assertion of Supremacy in his Marital Relations.*

- i. **Execution of Anne Boleyn, 1536**—on charges of treasonable misconduct. Henry then married **Jane Seymour**, but she died 1537, after Prince Edward's birth.
- ii. **His three subsequent marriages.** (1) To **Anne of Cleves** 1540 (see *below*); (2) to **Katherine Howard** (Duke of Norfolk's niece) 1540, beheaded for treasonable misconduct, 1542; (3) to **Katherine Parr** 1543, who survived Henry.

II. *Events strengthening and illustrating the Royal Supremacy.*

- i. **Henry's Decree of the Ten Articles, 1536**—making certain concessions to the new Protestantism, but retaining all the essentials of Catholic doctrines.

- ii. **Issue of an English translation of the Bible, 1536**—by Miles Coverdale.

Note.—This and the Ten Articles mark the beginning of the Doctrinal Reformation (see *above*).

- iii. **The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7**: a rebellion against the Reformation.

1. *Events.* (1) **1536**, a rising in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire under **Robert Aske**, a lawyer, for the restoration of the suppressed monasteries, and the removal of the king's evil counsellors. (2) The rebels checked with promises by the Duke of Norfolk, until an army came, and then mercilessly crushed, the leaders and others being executed.

2. *Results.* (a) The **Council of the North established, 1537**, as a branch of the Privy Council, to control the northern counties; (b) the dissolution of the Greater Monasteries (see *below*).

- iv. **Suppression of further resistance to the changes.** 1. A rising in Devonshire crushed, 1538, the **Marquis of Exeter** and **Lord Montagu** (both *Yorkist* kinsmen of Henry) being executed. In 1541 the latter's mother, the **Countess of Salisbury**, was also executed.

2. Futile attempt of Pope Paul III and **Cardinal Pole** (Montagu's younger brother) to depose Henry by a Papal Bull, 1538.

- v. **The Act of the Six Articles, 1539** ('the Whip with Six Strings')—obtained by Henry from Parliament to stop the spread of Protestantism. It enforced the six chief Roman doctrines upon all, under severe penalties.

- vi. **Suppression of the Greater Monasteries (some 500) in 1537-9.** They were treated by Cromwell as the smaller ones had been in 1536.

Results: (1) All abbots removed from the House of Lords, leaving the Lords Temporal henceforward more numerous than the Lords Spiritual. (2) Several new nobles created by Henry with grants, or sales on easy terms, of monastic lands. (3) Large areas of these lands, hitherto arable, turned into sheep pastures, greatly increasing the already widespread social discontent. (4) Large numbers of the very poor left without the support hitherto given by the monks.

III. *The Cleves Marriage and the Fall of Cromwell, 1539-40.*

- i. **Two parties in the King's Council**—caused by the ecclesiastical changes.

1. The supporters of the Old Religion (headed by Norfolk and Bishop

Gardiner of Winchester), who sought to keep Henry in the old doctrines.

2. The Reformers (headed by Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer), who worked both to secure further doctrinal reforms and to link Henry to the strong Lutheran Protestantism of Germany then struggling against the Emperor, Charles V.
- ii. **Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves (1540)**—sister of the Duke of Cleves, a German Protestant leader with whom Cromwell had persuaded him to ally in 1539. Henry rewarded Cromwell with the Earldom of Essex, but, soon conceiving a great dislike of Anne, he divorced her, 1540.
- iii. **Cromwell dismissed from all his offices, July 1540**—owing to Henry's anger at the Cleves fiasco—and executed as a traitor and heretic. A strong reaction, led by Norfolk and Gardiner, now set in against the new religion.

IV. *Henry's dealings with Wales and Ireland, 1536-42.*

- i. **Final incorporation of Wales with England, 1536-9**, as planned by Cromwell. Twenty-four Welsh members were sent to Parliament, and five new shires established.
- ii. **Henry and Ireland.** 1. *The Geraldine Rebellion, 1535-6*, led by Lord Thomas Fitzgerald. It was ended by Fitzgerald's capture and execution.
2. *The Reformation in Ireland, 1537-41*: carried out by Lord Grey, Henry's Deputy, on lines similar to the changes in England. All Irish monasteries were dissolved, and in 1542 Henry's Irish title was changed from 'Lord' to 'King' of Ireland.
3. *Results of Irish Reformation.* (1) Ireland brought more directly under royal control and better secured from continental interference; but (2) the various sections of the Irish people ultimately driven into closer union in defence of their common religion and customs, and also into much closer relationship with Rome.

V. *Third War with Scotland and France.*

- i. **With Scotland, 1542-6.** 1. *Causes*:
 - (1) Marriage (1537) of James V, Henry's nephew (Table, *antea*, p. 119), with Mary of Guise, a French princess, and his later persecution of the Scottish reformers; (2) James's refusal to ally with Henry.
 2. Defeat of Scots at **Solway Moss** (Cumberland), 1542, followed by James V's death from shock. His infant daughter, Mary, became Queen of the Scots, with her mother as Regent.
- ii. **With France, 1543-6.**
 1. *Causes.* (1) Francis I's alliance with the Turks against Charles V,

and Charles's counter-alliance with Henry; (2) French aid to Scots, 1542.

2. *Events.* In 1544 Henry captured Boulogne, and next year **Lord Lisle** repulsed a French attack on Isle of Wight. In 1546 peace was made with France and Scotland by which (1) Boulogne was to be retained till Francis paid two million crowns to Henry, and (2) Prince Edward betrothed to Queen Mary.

VI. *Henry VIII and Parliament.*

i. *Subordinate character of Tudor Parliaments*—due chiefly

- (1) to the changes wrought among the nobility resulting from the Wars of the Roses (see *antea*, p. 116), and (2) to the Tudor policy of fostering the middle classes and commerce.

The Tudors regarded Parliament chiefly as an instrument for obtaining constitutional sanction to their plans and decrees. Under them Parliament left control over the work of government to the Crown and Privy Council.

ii. *The Parliaments of Henry VIII's reign.* 1. *Under Wolsey*, during 1511-15 several Parliaments were called, but during 1515-23 money was raised by benevolences and forced loans. In 1523 a Parliament treated Wolsey with independence.

2. *Under Cromwell*, Parliament met much oftener, but each assembly was packed with his supporters. During 1529-36 the Seven Years' Parliament carried out the Reformation for Henry and Cromwell. In 1539 a Parliament (a) vested all property of dissolved monasteries in the Crown, (b) declared that all Henry's proclamations should have the force of laws, and (c) passed the Act of the Six Articles. Later Parliaments granted money, ratified the royal decrees, and passed bills of attainder whenever Henry wished.

VII. *The Last Years of Henry VIII, 1544-7.*

i. *His debasement of the Coinage, 1544 and later*—to raise money for the Scottish and French wars.

Results—a great increase of social distress, and terrible poverty among the working classes for years after.

ii. *Intrigues for chief power*—by the two parties in the Council as Henry's health declined. Supremacy was gained by the 'new nobility', led by **Lord Hertford** (brother of Jane Seymour, and uncle of Prince Edward) and **Lord Lisle** (son of Henry VII's agent Dudley). At the same time Henry's distrust of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey (the poet) caused him to arrest both, and Surrey was executed.

iii. *Death of Henry VIII, January 1547*—the day before that fixed for Norfolk's execution.

VIII. *Work of Henry VIII.*

- i. **Domestic.** (1) His greatest work was his separation of the English Church from the domination of Rome, and his cautious beginning of the Reformation in religion. (2) He encouraged the New Learning in many ways, especially in the first half of his reign. (3) The nobles were kept in order, commerce was greatly increased, maritime enterprise was encouraged, and *the foundations of a permanent English navy were laid.*
- ii. **Foreign.** Continuing his father's work, Henry established England permanently in the foremost rank of European nations, and for many years he held the balance of power in western Europe.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD VI, 1547-1553

A. THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET, 1547-9.

I. *Hertford made Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset, February 1547.*

- i. **Henry VIII's Will**—upset by Lord Hertford, the new king's maternal uncle, and Lord Lisle. The will, given the force of law by Parliament 1544, arranged (1) for the succession, and (2) **for a Council of Regency** to rule till Edward's majority, with a neutral policy in religion. Hertford, however, got himself appointed 'Lord Protector of the Realm', and made Duke of Somerset, while Lisle became Earl of Warwick.
- ii. **The new Protector's policy.** More ambitious than prudent and more able than practical, he sought to achieve glory by reforms in religion, social matters, and England's foreign relations; but by rashly attempting to force on all these prematurely he did nothing well, and brought about his own downfall.

II. *The Protector and Foreign Affairs.*

- i. **Affairs on the Continent.** After the Council of Trent, 1545, Charles V and the Pope made war on the German Protestants, and in 1547 defeated them at **Mühlberg**, ruining their cause for several years. Somerset was prevented from helping them only by urgent affairs nearer home.
- ii. **War with Scotland, 1547-50.** 1. *The condition of Scotland* at this time was one of strife between the Catholics and the Reform party.

2. *The Cause of the War* was Somerset's rash plan of helping the Scottish reformers by forcing the marriage between King Edward and Queen Mary (*antea*, p. 136). Reformers and Catholics joined in resisting his invasion of Scotland.
 3. *Events*. (1) Defeat of the Scots at **Pinkie Clough**, September 1547, followed by the capture and partial burning of Edinburgh and Leith.
 - (2) Alliance of the Scots with Henry II of France (Table, p. 119), and dispatch of Queen Mary to France, where she was betrothed to the Dauphin Francis.
 - (3) The siege of **Haddington**, which was prolonged till 1550.
- iii. **War with France, 1549-50**: declared by the English Council, because Henry II continued to aid the Scots, and also attacked Boulogne (*antea*, p. 136). The war continued till 1550 (see *below*).

III. *The Protector and Domestic Affairs.*

- i. **Second (Doctrinal) Stage of the Reformation**—carried out by Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer through either the Council or the Parliament.
 1. All Catholic bishops removed from office, and all images and pictures from churches.
 2. All Acts since Edward III against religious reforms repealed by Parliament, including the Acts against Lollardy, and the Six Articles Act.
 3. All church endowments, chantries, and gilds confiscated by Parliament.
 4. **The First Prayer Book of Edward VI issued, 1549**, and also *The First Act of Uniformity* passed to enforce its use in all churches.
- ii. **The disturbed social condition of England at this period.**
 1. *Chief causes*:—
 - (1) *The conversion of arable land into sheep pastures* (continued since Edward III's time), which made the rich richer, but increased unemployment, poverty, and vagrancy among the labouring classes;
 - (2) the practice (continued since Edward III's reign) of *the enclosure of commons*, or public lands, by neighbouring landowners;
 - (3) the suppression of the monasteries;
 - (4) the frequent debasement of the coinage since 1544; and
 - (5) the plunder during 1547-9 of church endowments, chantries, and trade-gilds.
 2. **The Enclosure Commission, 1548**, sent out by Somerset to inquire into popular grievances. His efforts, however, were thwarted by the Council.
- iii. **Plot of the Protector's brother, Lord Seymour, 1549**—to over-

throw him and seize his position. He was tried for treason and executed.

iv. **Two Risings against the Government, 1549:**

1. **Religious rebellion in Cornwall and Devon** in favour of the old religion—caused by the introduction of the new Prayer Book into the churches on Whit-Sunday, 1549. The Council's forces defeated the rebels at **St. Mary's Clyst** near Exeter, 4,000 being slain.
2. **Agrarian rebellion in the eastern counties under Robert Ket**—a wealthy tanner of Norwich. The rebels demanded redress of grievances—especially those from enclosures and sheep-pastures. The Earl of Warwick defeated them at **Mousehold Hill**, Norwich, and Ket and other leaders were hanged.

- v. **Fall of Somerset.** The Protector's open sympathy with the peasants, his blunders in foreign affairs, and his general lack of success lost him the support of the Council. Warwick intrigued against him, and he was deposed and thrown into the Tower, October 1549.

**B. SUPREMACY OF THE EARL OF WARWICK
(NORTHUMBERLAND), 1549-53.**

I. Warwick's Ascendency in the Regency Council.

- i. **His Character and Policy.** Unscrupulous and ambitious, but much more prudent than Somerset, Warwick now became the real head of the state.

In policy, he aimed to win a permanent ascendency in the Council by continuing the Reformation and adopting a moderate policy abroad.

- ii. **Warwick and foreign affairs.** Peace was made with France and Scotland, 1550, by which Boulogne was restored to France for 400,000 crowns, and the English forces were withdrawn from Scotland.

- iii. **Further religious reforms, 1550-3.** 1. **The foundation of Puritanism in England** laid by the many foreign teachers, such as **Martin Bucer** of Strasburg, and **Peter Martyr** an Italian, who came to escape the persecutions begun by Charles V after his victory of Mühlberg, 1547.

These teachers were appointed to educational posts, and spread the advanced doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli, which attacked the Roman symbolism and mystic meaning connected with mass, vestments, and ceremonies.

2. Gardiner, Bonner, and other bishops imprisoned and deprived of their sees, and Ridley, Hooper, and other advanced reformers appointed instead.

3. Church altars, frescoes, images, &c., destroyed, and church property pillaged.
4. **The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1552**—simpler and more Protestant than the first—was the result of the new teaching. It was enforced by Parliament in the *Second Act of Uniformity*.
- iv. **King Edward VI's Grammar Schools**, eighteen in number, were founded with some of the church property fortunately rescued from the plunderers.

II. *Warwick and Somerset.*

- i. **Warwick made Duke of Northumberland, 1551**—while several supporters also received titles and lands. A reaction in favour of Somerset now set in, owing to the Council's bad government, their self-seeking policy, and the consequent increase of bad trade and poverty.
- ii. **Somerset arrested and executed, January 1552**—because of his plotting against the Council and Northumberland. The latter was now hated everywhere.

III. *Northumberland's Plot, and Edward VI's Death, 1553.*

- i. **The King's character and illness.** Endowed with great natural ability, Edward was deeply religious, ardently Protestant, but somewhat intolerant. He showed strong interest in education and political affairs. But he was always physically weak, and in 1553 he became seriously ill.
- ii. **Plot in favour of Lady Jane Grey**—due to Northumberland's fears if Princess Mary, a Catholic, should become queen.
 1. Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley, married to Lady Jane (Table, p. 119).
 2. Edward persuaded, on his death-bed, to set aside his father's will by another leaving the crown to Lady Jane and her heirs.

Note.—As Parliament did not sanction the new will, it remained invalid.

- iii. **Death of Edward VI, July 6**—when not quite sixteen years old.

IV. *Characteristics of the Reign.*

- i. **In Government.** The usual results of a minority-reign occurred :—(1) quarrels and factions in the Council of Regency owing to the selfish ambition and greed of its leaders ; (2) disorder and distress throughout the country ; (3) temporary relapse of England into a second-rate power abroad.
- ii. **In Religious Matters.** (1) The second stage (doctrinal) of the

Reformation, which under the influence of foreign teachers and preachers became *Puritan* in character; (2) the issue of the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, and the two Acts of Uniformity to enforce their use. (3) The plunder of church-lands, and property of gilds, and the disfigurement of church-interiors.

CHAPTER IV

MARY, 1553-1558

Roman

- (i) **CHARACTER OF MARY.** While having the Tudor characteristics of ability, courage, and strong will, she lacked the Tudor power of understanding the people's moods. The sorrows and training of her earlier life had made her deeply religious, and a devoted Catholic.
- (ii) **HER FIXED POLICY,** therefore, was to restore the Papacy to its former supremacy in England, and to ally with Charles V in maintaining it.

A. MARY SINGLE: TRIUMPH AND POPULARITY, 1553-4.

I. *Lady Jane Grey.*

- i. **Lady Jane proclaimed Queen, July 10, by Northumberland.** But popular feeling was strong for Mary, and even Northumberland's troops, while marching to seize Mary in Norfolk, deserted him at Cambridge. The Council then arrested him, and proclaimed Mary as queen, July 19.
- ii. **Northumberland executed in the Tower**—after trying to save himself by professing Catholicism. Lady Jane, her husband, and others were kept prisoners.

II. *Mary's sweeping Ecclesiastical Changes.*

- i. **Her chief ministers and advisers.** The aged *Duke of Norfolk*, *Gardiner*, and *Bonner* were released, and restored to their posts, Gardiner also becoming Chancellor. But her most trusted adviser was *Renard*, Charles V's ambassador, whose aim was to secure England's alliance in the Emperor's war against France.
- ii. **Restoration of the ecclesiastical system of Henry VIII, 1553.** Catholic church-services were restored, including mass; Edward's reforming bishops and clergy dismissed; and Catholics put in their places. The foreign teachers and preachers were allowed to leave the country, but Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer were arrested.

Note.—A majority of the nation was still Catholic, without wishing to see the papal supremacy restored.

- iii. **Mary's First Parliament, 1553**—Catholic but not Papist. Its chief acts :—(1) Sanction given to the queen's proceedings ; (2) all Acts passed in Edward VI's reign annulled, thus restoring Henry VIII's religious system ; (3) Mary declared legitimate, and 'Supreme Head of the Church in England', as her father and brother had been.

Note.—Parliament, however, refused to restore the lands taken from the Church.

III. *Wyatt's Rebellion, February 1554.*

- i. **Renard's scheme for Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain**—son of Emperor Charles V—greatly favoured by Mary herself, but strongly opposed by the people. Parliament was dismissed for petitioning Mary not to marry a foreigner.

- ii. **Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt and others.**

1. *Chief cause*—popular opposition to the projected Spanish marriage and the dreaded foreign control.
2. *Events.* March on London of Wyatt (son of the poet) and an army of Kentishmen. The Londoners, roused to action by Mary herself, defeated them near Temple Bar, and captured Wyatt and others.
3. *Results.* (1) Execution of Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, and her father, though Lady Jane herself was quite innocent of complicity. (2) Imprisonment of Princess Elizabeth in the Tower. She was, later, placed under close supervision till Mary's death.

IV. *The Spanish Marriage, July 1554.*

- i. **Mary's second Parliament called, April 1554**—to obtain sanction of the marriage. This was given only after a marriage-treaty had been made providing, among other things, that England should not be involved by Spain in war.

- ii. **Mary's marriage with Philip**—at Winchester.

- iii. **Political results of the marriage:**—(1) Popular fear of the Spanish Inquisition kindled in England, and a hatred of all things Spanish. (2) England involved, 1557, in war with France, causing thereby (a) loss of Calais, and (b) renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance and troubles in next reign. (3) Disappointment to Charles V at the meagre benefits from the marriage. He made terms with his German subjects by the *Treaty of Augsburg*, 1555 ; resigned his imperial title, 1556 ; and retired to a Spanish monastery, where he died, 1558.

B. MARY MARRIED: PERSECUTION AND UNPOPULARITY, 1554-8.

I. *The Reconciliation with Rome, 1554.*

- i. **Acts of Mary's Third Parliament, November 1554**—more Papist than the others.
 - (1) Cardinal Pole's attainder reversed (*antea*, p. 134). (2) All reforming legislation since 1529 repealed. (3) Papal authority acknowledged in England—except regarding church property and appeals to Rome.
- ii. **Public submission to Rome, November 1554**, by Mary, Philip, and the Parliament. Kneeling before Cardinal Pole, the Papal Legate, they received absolution.

II. *The Marian Persecution of Protestants, 1555-8.*

- i. **The anti-Lollard laws of Henry IV and Henry V renewed, January 1555**—by Parliament, to aid Mary in 'rooting out all heresy'.
- ii. **The persecution begun, 1555**—after dissolution of Parliament (January 16). A Commission under Gardiner sat at Southwark to try for heresy those who rejected Transubstantiation and the Pope's supremacy. Among the leaders burnt were Bishops **Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.**
- iii. **Results of the Persecution.** (1) During 1555-8 nearly 300 persons of all ages were burnt at the stake. (2) A strong reaction against Rome began, and a rapid spread of the reformed doctrines. (3) Insurrections occurred in various parts, and hatred of Spain became intense.

III. *War with France, 1557-8. Death of Mary.*

- i. **Wretched condition of England**—owing to Mary's weak government, and spread of sheep-farming.

Highway robberies and piracies at sea were unchecked; poverty and distress were widespread; the government raised money illegally; the coast defences and the navy were out of repair; and conspiracies in favour of Elizabeth were formed.
- ii. **War declared against France by Mary, 1557**—to please her husband, and despite the marriage-treaty of 1554. Philip (since 1556 king of Spain) had renewed his father's war against Henry II, and now persuaded Mary to join him.

Result—**loss of Calais**, captured early in 1558 by the French, after being in English hands since 1347.
- iii. **Death of Mary, November 1558**—broken in health by her troubles at home, the loss of Calais, the neglect of her husband, and her childlessness. Cardinal Pole died the same day; Gardiner had died 1555.

CHAPTER V

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

- (i) **CHARACTER OF ELIZABETH.** With her mother's appearance and vanity she had her father's intellectual ability, strong will, and passionate temper. She was well educated in music and the arts; but she was a woman of strong contrasts. While her frankness, courage, and patriotism won the hearts of her people, her levity, mendacity, vacillation, parsimony, and love of intrigue often shocked the ambassadors and other foreigners at her court.
- (ii) **HER POLICY.** 1. *Domestic.* First, to restore Protestantism and freedom from Rome to England, thus securing the support of all her Protestant subjects against her only formidable rival, **Mary, Queen of Scots** (Table, *antea*, p. 119), whom all Catholics believed to have the sole legitimate right to the throne. Next, to encourage England's industrial and maritime commerce in order to secure the support of the middle and trading classes.
2. *Foreign*—to restore England ultimately to an independent position in European politics, and in the meanwhile to temporize with Philip II and Henry II—each eager to control England—by playing on their mutual jealousy.

A. PERIOD OF FOREIGN DANGERS, AND DOMESTIC SETTLEMENT, 1558-68.

I. Position of England at Elizabeth's accession.

i. Elizabeth's ministers and advisers.

- (1) *Sir William Cecil*, shrewd and cautious in support of peace and Protestantism—Secretary of State, and most trusted adviser. (2) *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, Cecil's brother-in-law—Lord Chancellor; (3) *Sir Francis Walsingham*—Lord Treasurer; and (4) *Matthew Parker* (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1559)—chief adviser in religious matters.

ii. Her early domestic difficulties—due to an empty treasury, debased coinage, and a people made rebellious by poverty, agrarian evils, and religious persecution.

iii. Her foreign dangers due to (1) the alliance with Spain and war with France, and (2) the recent marriage (April 1558) of the Dauphin Francis to Mary, Queen of Scots, whose claims to the English throne were now supported by Henry II, French troops holding Calais and threatening England. Philip II thus regarded his own support as necessary to Elizabeth, and even sought to marry her. The saving fact for Elizabeth was that Philip dared not withdraw his

support, lest France should gain control of England and endanger not only the Spanish Netherlands but also Spain's leading position in western Europe. Of this fact Elizabeth and Cecil took advantage, and commenced boldly their domestic reforms.

II. *Domestic Affairs, 1558-68. Gradual Settlement of Church and State.*

i. **Third Stage of Reformation: establishment of the Anglican Church, 1559.**

1. *Elizabeth's object.* As the **Counter-Reformation** set afoot by the Popes and the new Society of Jesuits (*postea*, B. V) was gaining strength on the Continent, Elizabeth and Cecil saw the necessity of establishing a definite form of Protestantism, if England was to be kept free from papal influence. She therefore determined to set up such a Protestant Church as would be a *middle way* between Roman Catholicism and the doctrines of Calvin, and to this Church all should be made to conform.

2. *The reforming Acts of Elizabeth's First Parliament, 1559.*

- (1) **The first-fruits**, resigned by Mary to Rome, were restored to the Crown.
- (2) **The Second Act of Supremacy** was passed (March) declaring Elizabeth to be Supreme Head of the Church, and freeing England from papal jurisdiction.
- (3) **The Third Act of Uniformity** (March) ordering (a) the use of Edward VI's Second Prayer Book in every church, and (b) attendance at church under fine of a shilling if absent without proper excuse. Some thirteen bishops and 200 clergy refused to accept the oath of supremacy: they were displaced by Protestants.

Note.—Elizabeth insisted on *outward conformity* to her Established Church, but in general allowed freedom of *opinion*.

ii. **Gradual return of domestic prosperity, 1559-68**, under the wise care of Elizabeth and her ministers. The improvement of the coinage, and the financial position generally, restored confidence and stability to commerce and industry, and a long period of prosperity set in.

III. *Foreign Affairs, 1559. England, Spain, and France.*

i. **Peace made with Henry II by the Treaty of Cambrai**—in order to withdraw England from foreign complications.

Elizabeth was recognized as Queen of England. Philip of Spain also made peace, and married Henry II's daughter.

ii. **Sudden death of Henry II, July 1559**—and renewal of dangers to England through the succession of the Dauphin as Francis II. He

at once began to press forward his wife's claims to the English throne.

IV. *Foreign Affairs, 1559-68. England, Scotland, and France.*

i. Elizabeth and Scotland, 1559-60.

1. **The Scottish Reformation**—was begun by the famous 'Bond of Union', formed 1557 by the chief Scottish nobles joining the reformers in resisting the Regent, Mary of Guise, who was trying to suppress Protestantism with French aid. **John Knox** returned to Scotland from Geneva, 1559, to lead the Scottish Reformation, which thenceforth developed on the lines of Calvinistic Presbyterianism.
2. **Elizabeth's Treaty of Berwick, January 1559**, with the Scottish reformers (the 'Lords of the Congregation')—to counter the new danger from Francis II.
3. **Elizabeth's Treaty of Edinburgh, July 1560**, with Francis II when Mary of Guise died. France was now being harassed by Huguenot risings everywhere.

By the treaty the French army was to leave Scotland, and Mary was to drop her claim to England.

Note.—Mary herself did not, then or afterwards, sign the treaty.

4. **Death of Francis II (December 1560)**, and return of Mary to Scotland (August 1561)—owing to quarrels with her mother-in-law, Katherine de' Medici.

ii. Elizabeth and France, 1562-3.

1. **Outbreak of Civil War, 1562**, between Catholics and Protestant Huguenots in France, where Katherine de' Medici was Regent for her son, the boy-king Charles IX. The Duke of Guise led the Catholics, and the Bourbon Duke of Condé and Admiral Coligny the Huguenots. The former obtained the aid of Philip of Spain, and Condé that of Elizabeth—in both money and troops.
2. **Havre held by Elizabeth's troops for a year**, until in 1563 Catholics and Huguenots came to terms and united in forcing them to leave.

iii. Mary in Scotland, 1562-8.

1. **Her Scheme against Elizabeth**: while professing friendship, she intrigued to unite English, Scottish, and Continental Catholics in her own support.
2. Her marriage, 1565, with her cousin, **Lord Darnley**, to strengthen her scheme.
3. Murder of her secretary, Rizzio, at Darnley's instigation, 1566, through jealousy.
4. Murder of Darnley near Edinburgh, 1567.

5. Mary's marriage, 1567, to **Lord Bothwell**, chief agent in Darnley's murder.
6. Revolt of Scottish nobles, June 1567, followed by the defeat of Mary and Bothwell at **Carberry Hill**, the imprisonment of Mary in Lochleven castle, and her *forced abdication* in favour of her infant son **James**.
7. Mary's escape and defeat with Bothwell at **Langside**.
- iv. **Mary's Flight into England, 1568**—to claim the protection of Elizabeth.

The latter's position was now very difficult. *Should she*—(1) help Mary to recover her kingdom, and so offend the Scots Protestants? or (2) surrender her to them, and so encourage them as rebellious subjects? or (3) set her free, to go seeking aid in France or Spain, and so renew the dangers to England from abroad? or (4) detain her in England, and so rouse for her the sympathy of at least English Catholics?

After a *Commission of Inquiry* at York to examine into Mary's case, Elizabeth resolved on the last-named course as the least dangerous.

Result—for nearly nineteen years Mary was the centre of Catholic plots, at home and abroad, to place her on the throne.

Note.—Mary was confined first at Tutbury, then at Coventry, and other places.

B. PERIOD OF MARY STUART'S IMPRISONMENT, AND OF CONSEQUENT PAPAL AND SPANISH ATTACKS, 1568-87.

I. *First Efforts in favour of Mary, 1569-72.*

- i. **Insurrection of Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, November 1569**—with object of marrying Mary to Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II. The rising was crushed with great severity, but the two Earls escaped to the Pope at Rome.
- ii. **Pope Pius V's Bull, 1570**—excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth as a heretic, and releasing all her subjects from allegiance to her.
- iii. **Results of the Bull.**
 1. Parliament passed penal statutes against Catholics, 1571.
 2. Elizabeth sought alliance with Charles IX's government, then Huguenot, and negotiated for her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, Charles's brother.
 3. **Ridolf's Plot, 1571-2**: led by an Italian banker in London, and formed to marry Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, and put her on the throne with the aid of Spanish troops. The plot was discovered in time, and Norfolk was executed, 1572.

II. *England's Continental Relations after the Plots, 1572-80.*

- i. **With the Netherlands.** Secret help was sent by Elizabeth and the French Huguenots to the **Dutch republic**, proclaimed 1572 under Prince William of Orange.
- ii. **With France.** Elizabeth made a second alliance with the Huguenot government, 1572, following it by marriage-negotiations with the Duke of Alençon, Anjou's younger brother.

Note.—The alliance soon collapsed after the terrible *Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris*, August 1572, promoted by the French Catholics to overthrow Huguenot rule.

- iii. **With Spain**—England's relations were becoming permanently hostile.
Chief causes :—

1. *Antagonism in religion*—England being now the recognized leader of Protestantism, just as Spain was of Romanism. Thus from 1567-87 Englishmen frequently helped the Protestant Dutch rebels; and Spaniards, the Irish Papists (see *below*).
2. *Rivalry at sea and in America*—due to Spain's exclusion of English merchants and seamen from all open trade with her colonies in Central and South America. (1) The famous sea-captains, **Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh, Gilbert**, and others, plundered the Spanish settlements and attacked their treasure-ships on the high seas. (2) In 1562 Hawkins founded the English trade in African slaves with America. (3) In 1577-80 Drake voyaged round the world, returning by South Africa with much Spanish booty.

- iv. **Consequent attempts to found English colonies: England's first Colony, 1585**—founded by Raleigh and called **Virginia**. The experiment proved a failure, however, and was not renewed until the next reign (p. 161).

III. *Elizabeth and the Religious Parties, 1563-80.*

- i. **Rise of Puritanism, 1563-71**: owing to the spread among the clergy of objections to all forms of *ritual* within the Church. The objecting clergy—nicknamed **Puritans** because of their advocacy of *purity* in doctrine and worship—were soon persecuted, because of Elizabeth's dislike of their views.
- ii. **The two sections of Puritans**—differing chiefly about church-government.
 1. The **Presbyterians** who, as extreme Calvinists, began after 1570 to demand abolition of bishops, and establishment of national church-government by *presbyters*. Their leader was **Dr. Cartwright**.
 2. The **Separatists or Independents**, who advocated the recognition of each separate congregation as a *separate church*, independent of

both state and bishops. Also called **Brownists** from their leader, **Robert Browne**.

iii. Parliament and the religious parties, 1571-3.

- (1) *Elizabeth's Third Parliament*, 1571, largely Puritan, passed two Acts against Catholics:—(a) declaring it treason to call Elizabeth a heretic, and (b) forbidding Papal Bulls and Catholic worship in England. (2) Her *Fourth Parliament*, 1572-3, much less Puritan, passed an Act against the Brownists.

iv. Elizabeth's intolerance of Dissenters. 1. **The Catholic Recusants** (=those refusing to obey the Uniformity Act and the new laws of 1571) were fined; and all priests celebrating mass imprisoned, and even sometimes tortured.

2. The Puritans were treated similarly, especially the Brownists.
3. Permanent suspension of Archbishop Grindal of Canterbury, 1577, for permitting the growth of preaching and textual discussions among clergy (died, 1583).

IV. *Irish Affairs*, 1547-83.

- i. **Under Edward VI and Mary (1547-58)**—the religious changes made in Ireland caused disturbances, which were made worse by agrarian strife. In 1558, to check this, *King's* and *Queen's Counties* were formed and 'planted' with English settlers; but a war of extermination followed.
- ii. **Under Elizabeth (1558-83)**—Protestantism was restored; but, owing to the queen's fitful and parsimonious support of her governors, the agrarian and religious strife went on. (1) *The Rebellion of Shane O'Neill*, 1565, to regain Ulster, was not crushed till 1567. (2) *The Rebellion of Earl Desmond*, 1579-83, to capture Munster, was helped by the Spaniards. In 1580 these were captured at **Smerwick** by Lord Grey de Wilton, and slain. In 1583 the Earl of Ormonde quelled Munster and slaughtered many thousand natives.

V. *Renewal of Catholic Activity in favour of Mary*, 1580-4.

- i. **Dispatch of first Jesuit mission to England, 1580**—under Campion and Parsons—to rouse Catholic zeal in favour of Mary.

Note.—The '*Society of Jesus*' was formed about 1534 by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, to promote Roman Catholicism and recover papal influence in Europe. Supported by the Papacy, the movement became **the Counter-Reformation**.

ii. **Consequent renewal of persecution by Elizabeth.**

- i. **Fresh Recusancy Laws** against Catholics passed by Parliament,

1581, especially one declaring it treason to convert any of Elizabeth's subjects to Romanism.

Note.—Campion was executed, 1581; Parsons escaped to the Continent. In the subsequent persecution of Catholics over 200 were executed by 1603.

2. Severe persecution of Puritan clergy begun, 1583—through the new **Court of High Commission** then formed. **Whitgift**, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583–1604), continued relentless against all clergy refusing to conform to the Prayer Book.

iii. The Guise Conspiracy against Elizabeth, and Throgmorton's Plot, 1583.

1. *In France*, where Henry III (Duke of Anjou) had succeeded Charles IX, 1574, the Catholics were triumphing; while *in the Netherlands* Philip II's general, the Duke of Parma, had by 1583 almost crushed the Dutch rebellion. The Duke of Guise seized the opportunity for uniting Catholics everywhere in another effort in favour of Mary, with Spanish aid.

2. **Throgmorton's plot to kill Elizabeth, December 1583**, closely connected with this, was discovered in time, and the whole Guise conspiracy thwarted. Throgmorton was hanged, and the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, dismissed.

- iv. The '**Bond of Association**' to protect Elizabeth's life, 1584—formed among her loyal subjects and confirmed by Parliament.

VI. *Renewed Hostility between England and Spain, 1585–6.*

i. Elizabeth's active interference in the Netherlands, 1585–6.

1. *Causes:*—

- (1) Her fear for England's safety, after Parma's success in southern Netherlands.
- (2) Assassination, 1584, of the Dutch leader, *William the Silent, Prince of Orange*.
- (3) Offer of the Dutch to become Elizabeth's subjects, which she prudently refused.

2. *Events:* (1) Alliance with Dutch, 1585, and dispatch of **Earl of Leicester** with army to help them. (2) Death of **Sir Philip Sidney** at Zutphen, 1586. (3) Leicester's return, 1586, unsuccessful.

- ii. **Drake's successes against Spain in West Indies**—sent by Elizabeth to avenge Philip II's seizure of all English ships and property found in his dominions. In 1586 Drake destroyed several Spanish settlements, and returned home with much plunder.

- iii. **Alliance between Philip and Duke of Guise, 1586**—with the double object of excluding from the French throne Henry of Navarre (the Huguenot heir, after Alençon's death, 1584), and of attacking England.

VII. *Babington's Plot, and Execution of Mary Stuart, 1586-7.*

- i. **The Plot**—formed 1586 by Anthony Babington and a number of young Catholic courtiers to murder Elizabeth and proclaim Mary in her place. Being discovered by Walsingham, they were arrested, tried, and executed.
- ii. **Mary's execution for complicity in the Plot, February 1587.** Being tried at **Fotheringay castle**, she was found guilty of treason. Parliament met December 1586, and demanded her death. After long hesitation Elizabeth assented. At her execution Mary bequeathed her claims to England to Philip II.

C. PERIOD OF TRIUMPH ABROAD, AND DEVELOPMENT AT HOME, 1587-1603.

I. *War with Spain, 1587-1604. The Spanish Armada, 1588.*

- i. **The Causes of the War**—lay in the events already noted, and arose partly out of the European struggle of *Protestantism v. Romanism*, of which England and Spain were respective champions, and partly out of the rivalry and hostility between the two countries at sea and in America.
- ii. **Events connected with the Armada, 1587-8.**
 - I. In 1587. (1) A crusade against Elizabeth proclaimed by the Pope; (2) Philip's preparations for his 'Invincible Armada' destroyed in Cadiz harbour by **Drake** ('singeing the Spanish king's beard').
 - 2. In 1588. (1) The Armada's arrival in the Channel under Medina Sidonia, with object of transporting Parma and his army from Dunkirk to England. (2) The six days' attack on the Armada by the English fleet under **Lord Howard of Effingham**, Drake, Hawkins, and others. (3) Dispersal of the Armada by English fire-ships off Calais, and by a gale which drove them northwards, pursued by English vessels. (4) Wreck of Spanish vessels off Scottish and Irish coasts, only 53 returning to Spain.
- iii. **Reasons of the defeat of the Armada.** (1) The better seamanship of the English, and their much better and smaller vessels. (2) The Dutch blockade of the Netherland ports, preventing Parma from sailing. (3) The English fire-ships and the storm, which completed the defeat.

- iv. **Some results of the defeat.** 1. It was the turning-point in the history of Protestantism, permanently establishing that religion not only in England but in Scotland, the Dutch Netherlands, and many North-German states.
2. It was also the turning-point in Elizabeth's reign, the remainder of which was safe and peacefully progressive at home, and splendid abroad.
3. In England : (1) it greatly strengthened Elizabeth's Anglican Church, practically giving rise to the **High Church party** within it, and (2) it promoted a more independent spirit in Parliament. *Both these were very important in next century.*
4. It was a great blow to Spain's European and maritime power, while from it England dates the foundation of her maritime supremacy.
- v. **The subsequent events of the War with Spain, 1589-1604 :** were chiefly expeditions (sometimes unsuccessful) against Spain and her American possessions, led by **Drake** (died 1595), **Essex**, **Raleigh**, and others. The war was concluded by James I in the *Treaty of London, 1604* (*postea*, p. 161).

II. *Continental Affairs after the Armada.*

- i. **The Netherlands.** (1) Death of Parma, 1592. (2) Development of the 'United Provinces' (Dutch) into a flourishing maritime and commercial *republic* (Protestant). The SW. Provinces (Belgium), being Catholic, remained faithful to Spain.
- ii. **France.** (1) Murder of the Duke of Guise at Blois 1588, and, for instigating it, of Henry III 1589, by a monk. (2) Claim of Henry of Navarre to the throne, as Henry IV, resisted by the Catholic League and Spain until 1593, when in order to win Paris he became a Catholic. (3) *Edict of Nantes* by Henry IV in 1598, granting toleration to all Protestants. (Revoked 1685 by Louis XIV.)

III. *Religion, Commerce, and Industries in England, 1588-1603.*

- i. **Religion :** continued persecution of religious parties more rigorously than ever.
 - (1) Many Catholics, in despair after Philip's defeat, joined Elizabeth's Anglican Church, thereby increasing within it the ritualistic or High Church party, which strongly advocated the divine right of kings and bishops. (2) Many Puritans were punished by the High Commission Court on account of the **Martin Marprelate Tracts** (1588-92). In 1593 a special law against Separatists drove many into exile in Holland.
- ii. **Increased progress of Commerce and Industries after the Armada.** Manufactures and agriculture developed, and new markets were opened up abroad.

iii. **Beginning of Chartered Companies, 1553-1600 :** to foster foreign trade.

- (1) *The Muscovy Company* formed 1553 to trade with northern Russia ;
- (2) *the Levant Company*, 1581, to trade with Turkey and the East ;
- (3) *the East India Company*, 1600, to trade with the East Indies and Spice Islands.

IV. *Ministers and Parliaments of Elizabeth's later reign, 1588-1603.*

- i. **Gradual change of older ministers for younger men :** Leicester died 1588, Walsingham 1591, Hatton 1592, Burghley (Cecil) 1598. The chief of the younger men succeeding these were *Raleigh*, the *Earl of Essex* (both, however, better courtiers than statesmen), and *Robert Cecil*, who took his father's place.

ii. **Elizabeth and her later Parliaments**—four, after 1588.

1. *Increase in her arbitrariness and in Parliament's independence.* Like her father, Elizabeth as she grew older grew more imperious in both religion and politics. On the other hand Parliament after the Armada showed greater independence, and sometimes forced her to give way to its will.
2. **The Parliament of 1601**—the most famous after 1588—passed :—
 - (1) *The Poor-Law*, 1601, to deal with the greatly increasing pauperism. 'Overseers of the poor' were to be elected in each parish, who should levy poor-rates for the benefit of the indigent and deserving poor, and of the unemployed. *It was the first general poor-law, and remained in force till 1834.*
 - (2) *Acts to repeal Monopolies*, i. e. grants made to individuals of the sole right to control particular articles of trade. *Parliament refused to vote supplies until Elizabeth consented to the withdrawal of these monopolies.*

V. *Affairs connected with Ireland, 1595-1603.*

(Refer *antea*, B. IV.)

- i. **Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, 1595**—with the aid of Spanish and Jesuit intrigues. In 1598 the Irish were roused everywhere by O'Neil's defeat of Sir Hugh Bagenal in Ulster.
- ii. **Expedition of the Earl of Essex, 1599**—Elizabeth's favourite courtier. After wasting time in the west instead of attacking Tyrone, he made an unsatisfactory peace with him.
- iii. **Essex's return: his plot and execution, 1601.** At the end of 1599, fearing the intrigues of his court rivals, Robert Cecil and Raleigh, he suddenly returned to London without leave. After dismissal from office and a year's imprisonment, he formed a plot against Cecil, and raised an insurrection in London. Tried for treason, he was executed, 1601.

- iv. **Ireland subdued by Lord Mountjoy, Essex's successor, 1600-3.**
In 1601 he defeated Tyrone and an auxiliary Spanish force at **Kinsale**. In 1603 Tyrone submitted and was pardoned.

VI. *Death of Elizabeth: Work of her Reign.*

- i. **The great Queen died, March 1603**—aged 70—having approved of James VI of Scotland as her successor.
- ii. **Summary of the work of her reign.** 1. *Domestic.* (1) England permanently established in a position of national independence. (2) Protestantism finally restored to England, and her Anglican Church firmly established. (3) Peace, order, and good government restored, under which commerce and the industries were developed, social conditions were improved, and a permanent system of poor-relief was established. (4) Maritime enterprise and foreign trade encouraged and fostered, and, in consequence, trading companies founded, *colonization first attempted, and a great advance made in the art of ship-building.*
2. *Foreign.* (1) England restored to a front place in European politics, and all dangers of foreign interference with her domestic affairs warded off permanently. (2) Her ultimate naval supremacy founded by the defeat of the Armada. (3) The Protestantism of northern Europe securely established.

BOOK VII

THE SECOND PERIOD OF MODERN ENGLAND : THE STUART KINGS AND PREROGATIVE V. PARLIAMENT AND THE LAW; AND BEGIN- NING OF COLONIAL EXPANSION, 1603-1688

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK VII

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Beginning of the intermingling of Scottish Lowlanders with English.
2. Increase of British in Ireland [ch. I, p. 160; ch. II, p. 169; ch. III, p. 178].
3. Beginning of emigration of English to American colonies [ch. I, p. 161; ch. II, p. 169; ch. IV, p. 187].

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land.** (1) The feudal incidents [ch. I, p. 160; ch. IV, p. 185].
(2) Redistribution of lands [ch. I, p. 160; ch. II, p. 168; ch. III, p. 178; ch. IV, pp. 185, 186]. (3) Gradual *decline of enclosures* for sheep-farming, and increase of agriculture.

2. **Society.** (1) Continued growth of the middle classes in number, wealth, and influence [ch. I, pp. 159, 160, 161; ch. II, p. 170; and *implied* in the increasing strength of the Commons in Parliament all through the period]. (2) Gradual improvement in the condition of tenants and labourers during the period, except in certain localities.

3. **Commerce and Industries.** (1) Their further development : especially due to (a) the growth of woollen and other textile industries [ch. II, p. 169], (b) the expansion of colonies and *colonial trade under the Mercantile System* [ch. I, p. 161, &c.], (c) the influx of Huguenot artisans [ch. V, p. 196]. (2) Continued Dutch and Spanish trade-rivalry [ch. III, pp. 179, 182; ch. IV, pp. 184, 185, 187, 189].

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) The continued spread of learning, shown in the growth of scientific and philosophic knowledge, and in the foundation of *the Royal Society*, 1662. (2) Continued growth of poetry and the drama, and rise of *modern prose* after the Restoration.

5. **Economic and social laws, and legal events** [ch. I, pp. 160, 163, 164; ch. II, p. 168; ch. III, pp. 178, 181; ch. IV, pp. 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195; ch. V, pp. 197, 198].

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT [now often connected with (iv) and (v)].

1. **Predominance of the High Church party**, supported by the Stuarts [ch. I, pp. 159, 162; ch. II, pp. 167, 168, 169].

2. **Their persecution of** (a) Puritans [ch. I, pp. 160, 161; ch. II, pp. 168-9; ch. IV, pp. 184, 185, 189, 192, 194; ch. V, pp. 195, 196-8], (b) Roman Catholics [ch. I, p. 160; ch. II, p. 169; ch. IV, pp. 185, 189, 191].

3. **Overthrow of Episcopalianism** [ch. II, p. 172], and **temporary predominance of Puritanism**: through (1) the Presbyterian party [ch. II, pp. 171-6], (2) the Independent party [ch. II, p. 176 to ch. III, p. 183].

4. **Puritan cleavage** [ch. II, p. 174 to ch. III, p. 183].

5. **Puritan persecution of** (1) Roman Catholics [ch. III, pp. 178, 180; ch. IV, pp. 189, 191], (2) Anglicans [ch. III, p. 180].

6. **Restoration of the Church of England** [ch. IV, p. 185].

7. **Beginning of Nonconformity or Dissent** [ch. IV, p. 186].

8. **Two Stuart Kings Catholic** [ch. IV, pp. 188, 189; ch. V, pp. 195, 196-8].

9. **Religious plots and rebellions** [ch. I, pp. 159-60; ch. II, pp. 169-70, 172-7; ch. III, p. 178; ch. IV, pp. 191, 192; ch. V, p. 196].

10. **Continued English support of foreign Protestantism** [ch. I, pp. 161, 163-4; ch. II, p. 165; ch. III, pp. 181-2; ch. V, p. 196].

11. **Slow growth of religious toleration** [ch. III, p. 181; ch. IV, pp. 184, 189, 190, 194; ch. V, p. 196].

(iv) **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.**

1. **The British Isles under one sovereign from 1603 onwards** [ch. I, p. 157].

2. **Temporary displacement of monarchical rule** by that of a Commonwealth [ch. III, pp. 177, 180, 183].

3. **Beginning of colonial expansion**: (1) by settlement through *persecution* [ch. I, p. 161; ch. II, p. 169]; (2) by settlement *for trade purposes* [ch. I, p. 161; ch. II, p. 169; ch. IV, p. 187]; (3) *by conquest* [ch. III, p. 182; ch. IV, p. 187].

4. **Political effects of the Stuart theory of Divine Right**: (1) Increasing activity and independence of Parliament [ch. I, pp. 160, 162, 163, 164; ch. II, pp. 166, 167, 170-2]; (2) The seventy years' struggle, King and Prerogative *v.* Parliament and the Law [ch. I, p. 162], and the two Revolutions of 1649 and 1688; (3) *Foundation of the two great political parties, Roundheads and Cavaliers* [ch. II, p. 173], which became ultimately *Whigs and Tories* [ch. IV, pp. 190, 193]; (4) Foundation of certain colonies owing to persecution [see 3 (1) above]; (5) Misgovernment and rebellions in Scotland and Ireland [ch. II, pp. 169, 171; ch. IV, p. 192]; (6) Secret treaties with France [ch. IV, pp. 188, 190, 191, 193; ch. V, p. 195].

5. **Foreign Relations.** (1) Maintenance of the Balance of Power: (a) *by diplomacy* [ch. I, pp. 161, 163, 164; ch. IV, pp. 188, 191], (b) *by war*, with Spain and *alliance* with France [ch. I, p. 164; ch. II, p. 165; ch. III p. 182]; (2) *War with France* [ch. II, p. 165], and renewal of antagonism to France owing to religion; (3) *Relations with Holland* [ch. III, p. 179; ch. IV, pp. 185, 187, 189, 191; ch. V, p. 198]; (4) *With the Empire* [ch. I, pp. 161, 163]; (5) *With Portugal* [ch. III, pp. 179, 181; ch. IV, p. 187]; (6) *Decline of England's Continental importance* under James I and Charles I; *rise* under Cromwell; and *decline again* under Charles II and James II.

(v) **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT**: partly causing, and partly resulting from, the politico-religious development of the period.

1. **Constitutional effect of the Stuart's theory of Divine Right**: their abuse of the prerogative [ch. I, pp. 159, 160, 162, 163; ch. II, pp. 166, 167, 168-9, 171, 172; ch. IV, pp. 189, 194; ch. V, pp. 195, 196-8].

2. **Constitutional effects of the struggle, King and Prerogative v. Parliament and the Law**: *gradual recovery of the powers of Parliament*:-

(1) **Freedom of members** from arrest [ch. I, p. 160; ch. II, pp. 166, 170]; (2) **freedom of election** [ch. I, p. 160]; (3) **freedom of the subject** [ch. II, p. 167; ch. IV, p. 192]; (4) **control of taxation** and other revenue [ch. I, p. 160; ch. II, pp. 166, 167, 171; ch. IV, p. 185; ch. V, p. 199]; (5) of *expenditure* [ch. IV, p. 188; ch. V, p. 199]; (6) of *ministers* [ch. I, p. 163; ch. II, p. 170; ch. IV, pp. 188, 189-90, 192; ch. V, p. 199]; (7) of *legislation* [ch. II, p. 171; ch. IV, pp. 185, 189; ch. V, p. 199]; (8) of *the Church* [ch. II, p. 172; ch. IV, p. 185]; (9) of *the army* [ch. II, p. 172 (temporary lapse, ch. IV, p. 185); ch. V, p. 199]; (10) of *the kingship* [ch. II, p. 177; ch. V, p. 199]; (11) **permanent supremacy of Parliament and the Law** [ch. V, pp. 198-9].

3. **Temporary establishment of republican forms of constitution** [ch. III, pp. 177, 180].

4. **Beginning of the modern standing army** [ch. IV, pp. 185, 190; ch. V, pp. 196, 197, 198].

5. **Growth of the modern navy** [ch. III pp. 179, 182; ch. IV, pp. 187, 189].

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST STUART KING: JAMES I, 1603-1625

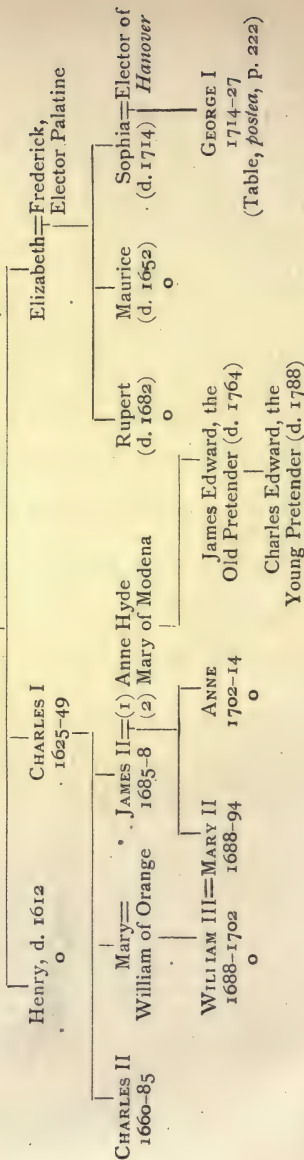
- (i) **TITLE OF JAMES I TO THE THRONE**. He was the most direct descendant of Henry VII, and Parliament confirmed his title in 1604. *James was the first king of Great Britain and Ireland.*
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER**. He was undignified in appearance, extravagant, fond of favourites, and obstinate; a very intelligent and learned man, but vain and argumentative. He had neither the insight into character, nor the power to win confidence and esteem, which the Tudors had shown.
- (iii) **HIS VIEWS CONCERNING MONARCHY**: (1) that he ruled by divine right, and was therefore responsible for his rule to God alone; (2) that he was above the laws, and could therefore exercise upon them either his *dispensing power*, to exempt individuals *from the consequences of breaking any particular law*, or his **suspending power**, to suspend the operation of any number of laws with regard to any number of persons.

Note 1.—These views were shared by all the Stuart kings, and as they were supported by the High Church party, preaching the doctrine of non-resistance to the king, they were at the root of the long constitutional

TABLE TO SHOW THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I.

(Refer Table, *antea*, p. 119.)

JAMES I=Anne of Denmark
1603-25 (d. 1619)



and religious struggle which ended only with the Revolution of 1688. They called forth among the Puritans and supporters of Parliament the counteracting views—(1) *that the king, being elected by Parliament, ruled only by the will of the people*, and was no more than its highest official; and (2) *that he had, therefore, neither dispensing nor suspending power over the laws*.

Note 2.—The Tudors had both held and frequently acted on despotic views of their prerogative; but the middle classes and Parliament were becoming more independent; moreover James was not an Englishman.

(iv) **HIS POLICY.** 1. *Domestic*—to maintain the absolute position and royal prerogatives of his Tudor predecessors unimpaired, to keep Parliament subordinate, and to maintain Elizabeth's episcopal system of church-government against both Catholics and Puritans.

2. *Foreign*—to promote European peace and an alliance with Spain, for which country's wealth and power he had a great admiration. During Cecil's lifetime, however, he was obliged to subordinate his foreign policy to that of his masterful minister.

(v) **HIS MINISTERS.** *Robert Cecil*, Elizabeth's chief minister, secured the same post under James; *Sir Edward Coke* became Attorney-General until made Lord Chief Justice (1607–16); *Sir Francis Bacon* became Solicitor-General 1607, and Lord Chancellor 1618; *Robert Carr* (1612–16) and *George Villiers* (1616–28) were both chief ministers as well as favourites.

A. THE MINISTRY OF ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY, 1603–12.

I. *James and the Religious Parties (High Church, Puritan, and Catholic).*

i. **The Puritan Millenary Petition, 1603**—presented to James on his way from Scotland to London, asking for alterations in the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church.

ii. **The Main and the Bye Plots, 1603**—the former by Lord Cobham and Raleigh to get rid of Cecil, though Cobham also sought to place Arabella Stuart on the throne (Table, p. 119); the latter by certain Catholics and Puritans to seize the king and force him to grant toleration. Cecil contrived to arrest the leaders of both plots and have them tried together for treason. Raleigh and Cobham were sent to the Tower; others were hanged.

iii. **The Hampton Court Conference, 1604**—held by James and several bishops with only four Puritan representatives to discuss the proposals of the Millenary Petition.

Results:—(1) None of the Puritan requests was granted, but a new 'Authorized Version' of the Bible was ultimately issued, 1611.

(2) Renewed persecutions of the Puritans by Archbishop Bancroft (d. 1610).

- iv. **The Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605**—by a band of desperate Catholics led by Guy Fawkes, Catesby, and others to blow up James and the members of both Houses of Parliament, and to establish Roman Catholicism. Some of the conspirators were killed fighting, others executed.

Result: an increased severity in the laws against Catholics.

II. *James and his First Parliament (largely Puritan), 1604–11.*

- i. **Increased activity and independence of Parliament under James**
—due to:—

(1) The growing interest in Parliamentary affairs among the middle classes; (2) the renewed persecution of the Puritan clergy; (3) various provocative actions of James based on his theory of royal prerogative; and (4) his failure to win the confidence and esteem of his subjects.

- ii. **James's unsuccessful contests with Parliament.** 1. *In the case of Goodwin*, an 'outlaw' elected for Buckinghamshire, the Commons gained its right to control elections.

2. *In the case of Shirley*, a member arrested for debt, the Commons secured to its members freedom from arrest during its sessions.

3. When James tried to *complete the union of England and Scotland*, 1606, Parliament successfully resisted him.

4. When he tried to obtain a fixed revenue by *The Great Contract*, 1601–11, in return for giving up certain feudal incidents, Parliament rejected the proposal. Thereupon James angrily dissolved it, 1611.

- iii. **James's success, 1606–8, with his 'Impositions'**—increases placed upon the Tonnage and Poundage rates, despite the repeated protests of Parliament. (1) *In the case of Bate*, a merchant who refused to pay the Impositions, the judges decided that the king had the right to increase customs-duties without consent of Parliament. (2) **The Book of Rates** was then issued, 1608, containing increased duties, on James's authority.

III. *James I and Ireland, 1603–12.*

- i. **His Irish policy**—on the advice of Chichester, governor of Ireland, 1604–16—was to establish the English legal and judicial system over all Ireland, and to abolish the old Brehon land-tenure. Numerous rebellions followed in Ulster and elsewhere.

The Plantation, or Settlement, of Ulster, 1608–11, made by confiscating the lands of all rebels, and giving the best to Scottish and English settlers.

Results : Ulster flourished, but the dispossessed Irish nursed their wrongs—to terrible effect, as seen in the next reign (*postea*, p. 171).

IV. *The Beginnings of England's Colonial Empire, 1605-22.*

- i. **The first group of permanent Colonies** : due to *commercial enterprise*.
 1. **Barbadoes** (W. Indies), first claimed 1605 ; but not settled on till 1624.
 2. **Virginia** (founded by Raleigh, 1585, but a failure) permanently *resettled* 1606 by the London Company under John Smith. Its capital, Jamestown, founded 1607.
 3. **The Bermudas**, taken possession of, 1609 ; not colonized till 1612.
- ii. **The second group of permanent Colonies** : due to *religious persecution at home*. The **New England Colonies** were founded 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers and their families—Puritan refugees composed partly of English exiles in Holland, and partly of the 'Independent' congregation from Scrooby in Nottingham. The first party landed from the 'Mayflower' at **New Plymouth, 1620**, and the second, 1622. They formed the *nuclei* of the future New England (*postea*, p. 169).

V. *England's Foreign Relations, 1604-13.*

- i. **With Spain and the Netherlands, 1604-9.** (1) Elizabeth's war with Spain closed 1604 by the *Peace of London*. (2) A twelve-years' truce made 1609 between Spain and the Dutch Netherlands, largely owing to the efforts of James and Salisbury. Dutch *independence* not acknowledged by Spain till 1648.
- ii. **England's alliance with France (Henry IV), Holland, and the German Protestants, 1609**—against Austria, which was now again becoming active in the championship of Romanism.
- iii. **Betrothal of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick of the Palatinate, 1612**—chiefly through the efforts of Salisbury, who wished to secure James at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe. The marriage followed in 1613.
- iv. **Deaths of Salisbury, 1612** (just before the marriage) and of **Prince Henry** (November), James's eldest son, aged eighteen.

Note.—Both had exercised a great restraining influence upon James, and their removal left James under the control of favourites—increasingly until his death.

**B. JAMES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF FAVOURITES,
1612-25.**

I. *The Two Favourites. James's Second Parliament.*

- i. **Robert Carr**, a young Scotsman, whom James made Earl of Rochester 1607, chief minister in Salisbury's place 1612, and Earl of Somerset 1613. But in 1615 Somerset and his wife were found guilty of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, imprisoned, and then disgraced.
- ii. **George Villiers**, the next favourite, made Earl of Buckingham 1618, Lord High Admiral 1619, and Duke of Buckingham 1623. His great influence over both James and Prince Charles made him practically ruler of England till his death; but his rashness and incapacity did much harm.
- iii. **James's changed foreign policy**—to ally with Spain instead of France, through the marriage of his son, Charles, with the Infanta.
- iv. **The Addled Parliament, 1614**—called to obtain subsidies, which were, however, refused until the grievances about the Impositions should be redressed.

It was dismissed, after a barren session of seven weeks, through the advice of *Gondomar*, the Spanish ambassador, who greatly influenced James for many years.

II. *Events of James's Seven Years' Rule without Parliament, 1614-21.*

- i. **His methods of raising money—some illegal.** (1) Benevolences and forced loans illegally collected, often through the Star Chamber; (2) monopolies sold to individuals and much abused; (3) titles publicly sold; (4) **Raleigh** released and sent to Guiana, 1616, gold-hunting. His attack on a Spanish settlement caused strong complaints through Gondomar, and he was executed, 1618.
- ii. **Fall of Somerset and rise of Villiers, 1616** (see above).
- iii. **Dismissal of Lord Chief Justice Coke, 1616.** Its extreme importance. Coke's fearless and frequent advocacy of *the supremacy of the law over the royal prerogative* combined with his somewhat arrogant temper to give offence to James. After his dismissal Coke devoted himself to opposing the king's exercise of the prerogative, and may be thus said to have made a definite beginning of the great struggle, **King and Prerogative v. Parliament and the Law**, which lasted till 1688.
- iv. **James and Scotland.** 1. In 1606 James had persuaded the Scottish Parliament to establish the Anglican Church in Scotland, despite the strong protests of the people led by **Andrew Melville**, Knox's successor.

2. In 1618, having obtained power from the Scottish Parliament, he issued the *Five Articles of Perth*, enjoining with severe penalties more ceremonies in public worship.
- v. **Beginning of the Thirty Years' War in the Empire (1618-48).**
 1. *Cause*—the persecution of Protestants in Bohemia by its king, Matthias, who was also Archduke of Austria and German Emperor.
 2. *First period of the War, 1618-21.* (1) Rebellion of Count Thurm and the Bohemian Protestants, 1618. (2) Death of Matthias, 1619, leaving his crown to Ferdinand of Styria, a bigoted Catholic, who became Emperor soon after. The rival election of Frederick of the Palatinate (James's son-in-law) as Protestant King of Bohemia followed. (3) Spanish attack on the Palatinate to help Ferdinand; but long hesitation of James I about helping Frederick. (4) Defeat of Protestants near *Prague*, 1620, by Ferdinand, and expulsion of Frederick from Bohemia.

III. *James's Third Parliament, 1621-2.*

- i. **Causes of its being called**—James's urgent need of money, and the popular clamour for war with Spain. As he was negotiating for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta, he would not declare war. Parliament therefore voted only small subsidies.
- ii. **Revival of Impeachment by Parliament**—under **Coke** and **John Pym** (the last previous occasion was in 1450). **Sir Giles Mompesson** was impeached for abuse of monopolies, and **Lord Chancellor Bacon** for bribery. The former fled to France, but Bacon was condemned to fine and imprisonment.
- iii. **Significant quarrel between King and Parliament, November 1622**—when the Commons petitioned James for war with Spain, marriage of Prince Charles to a Protestant, and increased severity to Catholics. James refused to allow interference in such matters, and when the Commons protested he tore out their protest from the journal of the House, dissolved Parliament, and ordered the imprisonment of Coke, Pym, and other leading members.

IV. *James, the Palatinate, and the Spanish Match, 1621-4.*

- i. **Second period of the Thirty Years' War, 1622.** While James was negotiating with Spain for his son's marriage and the close of the religious war, the Palatinate was occupied by Spanish troops, and transferred to the Catholic Duke of Bavaria, 1622.
- ii. **Journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, 1623**—to continue the negotiations in person. Philip IV, however, refused to get back the Palatinate for Frederick, and demanded impossible conditions for his sister's marriage. Charles and Buckingham returned home angrily calling for war with Spain.

V. *James, Parliament and the Spanish War, 1624-5.*

- i. **James's Fourth and Last Parliament, 1624-5:** called to obtain money for war with Spain, because his Spanish policy had failed.
 1. War-supplies were voted, and Lord Treasurer Middlesex was impeached and condemned—nominally for corruption, but really because he opposed the war.
 2. **The Monopolies Act passed, 1624**—forbidding individuals to hold monopolies.
- ii. **James's changed foreign policy:** alliance with France, 1624, and betrothal of Charles to **Henrietta Maria**, Louis XIII's sister. Parliament agreed to the betrothal only on condition that no consequent concessions were made to English Catholics. James and Charles, however, made such concessions secretly.
- iii. **An English expedition sent to the Palatinate, 1624**, under the German Count Mansfeld, by Buckingham—now real ruler of England. Food and stores failed, and thousands of soldiers perished the following winter.
- iv. **Death of James I, March 1625**, at the age of 58.

VI. *Chief Features of the Reign.*

- i. **Domestic.** 1. The beginning of the long struggle *King and Prerogative v. Parliament and the Law*, caused by :—(1) James's arrogant attitude of superiority towards Parliament, (2) his siding with the High Church party and persecuting the Puritans, (3) his appointment of favourites as ministers not responsible to Parliament.
2. The Plantation of Ulster, with its more evil than good influences on Ireland.
- ii. **Colonial. Beginning of England's Colonial Empire**, due partly to commercial enterprise, and partly to religious persecution.
- iii. **Foreign.** 1. The marriage of Princess Elizabeth with the Elector of the Palatinate (from which sprang the Hanoverian dynasty in next century).
2. Beginning of the great religious struggle of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent; and of England's share in it.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES I, 1625-1649

- (i) **CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.** He was dignified, graceful and handsome in person, but, while virtuous and pious in private life, he was narrow-minded and prejudiced, obstinate and imprudent. His worst fault was his lack of straightforwardness, which later degenerated into duplicity, and ultimately proved the chief cause of his tragic end.

- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** 1. *Domestic*—like his father's—to maintain (1) the royal prerogative, (2) full control over ministers and Parliament, and (3) the episcopal control of religion according to High Church views.
2. *Foreign.* As domestic affairs soon became all-absorbing, after 1630 he gave little attention to foreign policy.
- (iii) **INFLUENCE OF BUCKINGHAM.** (1) He swayed Charles even more than he had his father, and (2) he completely mismanaged both foreign and domestic affairs. He thus forced to the front constitutional questions—control of ministers, of Parliament, of foreign policy, &c.—about which Charles and Parliament at once began to differ.

A. THE ASCENDENCY OF BUCKINGHAM, 1625-8.

I. *Foreign Relations of Charles I, 1625-30.*

- i. **War with Spain, 1625-30.** 1. Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria of France, and League with France and the Protestants of northern Europe promoted by *Cardinal Richelieu* (Louis XIII's minister) against Spain and Austria.

Note.—Richelieu's policy was to check the influence of the Hapsburg rulers of Spain and Austria, and to advance the position of France.

2. Loan of eight English ships to Richelieu (1625) for use against Spain, but used instead to besiege the rebel Huguenots in La Rochelle.

[Charles now dissolved his first Parliament for attacking Buckingham.]

3. Expedition to **Cadiz**, 1625, sent to regain lost prestige, but entirely failed.

4. Defeat of King Christian of Denmark (Charles's uncle) at *Lutter*, 1626, followed soon after by the collapse of the new League.

ii. **War with France, 1627-30.**

1. *Causes* :—(1) Charles's non-fulfilment of his secret promise of concessions to English Catholics ; and (2) quarrels between the two Courts about seizure of each other's merchant vessels.

2. *Events* :—(1) Buckingham's *disastrous expedition to the Isle of Rhé*, 1627—to relieve La Rochelle. It failed, and half the men perished.

- (2) Preparations for another expedition to relieve La Rochelle, 1628, resulting in *Buckingham's assassination* when about to start.

iii. **Peace with France and Spain, 1630**—on the advice of **Wentworth**, Charles's new chief adviser—owing to difficulties at home (see *below*).

II. *Events connected with Charles's First and Second Parliaments, 1625-6.*

i. **The first Parliament, June-August 1625.** 1. *Its character*—largely Puritan, and suspicious regarding (1) concessions to Catholics, (2) the High Church doctrines, ecclesiastical and political, prevalent at the Court, and (3) Buckingham's incompetence. Its chief leaders were **Coke, Pym, and Sir Thomas Wentworth** of Yorkshire.

2. *Its proceedings.* (1) Sparing grants made of money for the war, and tunnage and poundage for a year. The latter Charles refused, as since Henry IV's time it had always been granted for life. (2) Refusal by Commons of further grants after the loan of ships to Richelieu (*above*). They then prepared to impeach Buckingham, but Charles *dissolved Parliament*.

Note.—This was the definite beginning of the struggle between King and Parliament for *control* of Crown ministers. (Cp. Strafford, Laud, Clarendon, Danby.)

ii. **Events between first and second Parliaments.** (1) The futile expedition to Cadiz, obliging Charles to call another Parliament for supplies; (2) **Coke, Wentworth**, and other leaders of *first* Parliament made sheriffs and thus excluded from *second*.

iii. **Proceedings of the second Parliament, February-June, 1626.**

(1) Grievances at once discussed by the Commons led by **Sir John Eliot**, and Buckingham impeached for mismanaging the war and the revenue. (2) Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges imprisoned by Charles, but released when the Commons refused to proceed with business (*antea*, p. 160). (3) The impeachment continued, and *Parliament consequently dissolved*.

III. *Important Events between Second and Third Parliaments, June 1626-March 1628.*

i. **Charles's unconstitutional methods of raising money for the War**—by which he set the bulk of the nation still more against him.

1. *Collection of tunnage and poundage without consent of Parliament* (see *above*).

2. *Levy of a forced loan, and imprisonment of rich men and forcing of poor men into the army or fleet, for refusing to pay the loan.*

Among those imprisoned were Eliot, Wentworth, and other leaders.

3. Decision of the judges in the *Five Knights (or Darnell's) case*, that the king could imprison without cause shown.

4. *Billeting of soldiers and sailors on private houses, while being marched to the coast; and trial by martial law of those who resisted.*

- ii. **The War with France, 1627**—followed by Buckingham's disastrous expedition to Rhé, which compelled the calling of another Parliament.

IV. *The Third Parliament of Charles, March 1628–March 1629.*

- i. **Events of its first Session, March–June 1628.** 1. Wentworth's Bill for checking the recent constitutional abuses (*above*) rejected by Charles on Buckingham's advice.

Note.—Wentworth's opposition had been always directed rather against Buckingham and his weakening of the authority of the Crown by abuses of the law, than against Charles, for whom he always showed a flattering respect. Buckingham in return had in several matters shown much dislike of Wentworth.

2. **THE PETITION OF RIGHT, 1628**—a more stringent measure, then carried through Parliament by Eliot, Coke, Pym, and Selden. It asked for—

- (1) Forced Loans and other forms of taxation not to be levied without consent of Parliament.
- (2) Imprisonment of no subject to occur without cause shown.
- (3) Billeting of troops on private houses to be declared unlawful.
- (4) Martial law not to be enforced in times of peace.

In return for signing this petition Charles was voted £350,000 for the war.

Note.—Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), and the Bill of Rights (1689) have been well called 'The Three Charters of English Liberty'.

ii. **Four important events during the Parliamentary Recess, June 1628–January 1629.**

1. **Land**, the king's favourite chaplain (extremely High Church) made Bishop of London.
2. **Wentworth** received into the king's party and given a peerage (July).
3. **Buckingham assassinated**, August 1628, by Lieutenant Felton at Portsmouth.
4. Tunnage and poundage still collected despite the Petition of Right.

iii. **Events of second Session of third Parliament, January–March 1629.**

1. Eliot's resolutions against the recent 'innovations' in religion and taxation—passed while the Speaker was held in his chair.
2. Hasty dissolution of Parliament, and imprisonment of Eliot and nine others for their action.

Eliot died in prison, a martyr to the cause of Parliamentary freedom.
Valentine and **Strode** prisoners till 1640 (*postea*, C. I).

B. THE ELEVEN YEARS OF ABSOLUTE RULE, 1629-40.

I. *Charles I's Arbitrary Rule without Parliament.*

- i. **His instruments of arbitrary rule.** 1. **Chief ministers**—(1) Lord Treasurer *Weston*, 1630-5, who cleared off the public debts created by Buckingham; (2) *Laud*, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633; and (3) *Wentworth*, Lord President of the North, 1628-33, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1633-40.
2. **His three extra-judicial Courts**—(1) The *Court of Star Chamber* (*antea*, p. 123), employed by Charles much beyond its legal powers of punishment; (2) the *Council of the North* (p. 134), used by *Wentworth* as a branch of (1); and (3) the *High Commission Court* (p. 150), rigorously used by *Laud* against the Puritan clergy.
- ii. **Charles's methods of raising money without Parliament**—irritating every class.
 1. Tunnage and poundage, including the 'Impositions' of 1608, collected.
 2. Obsolete laws revived for the sake of the fees and fines obtained thereby.
 3. Monopolies granted to *companies*, thus evading the law of 1624 (*antea*, p. 164).
 4. Forest-lands reclaimed—thereby offending many of the nobility.
 5. Star Chamber fines imposed for offences not illegal.
 6. The **Ship-money Act** revived and greatly abused, 1634-9. At first it was legally levied on maritime counties and ports, but its extension to inland counties, 1635, was quite illegal. In 1637 **John Hampden** of Buckinghamshire refused to pay the tax, but the judges decided the case against him.

Note.—Though Hampden lost his case, his spirited action stiffened public opinion against Charles's injustice, and increased the opposition to his arbitrary rule.

II. *Laud's Policy and its effects.*

- i. **His views and aims.** He thought too little of intellectual religion and too much of the traditions and ceremonies of the ancient Church. He was very intolerant, and sought to achieve complete unity in religion and uniformity in worship everywhere.
- ii. **Some of his proceedings.** (1) Visitations made to all his dioceses, and uniform ritual enforced, disobedient clergy being tried by the High Commission Court, and punished with extreme rigour by the Star Chamber. (2) In 1633 *Prynne*, a lawyer, pilloried and muti-

lated for writing 'Histriomastix', a book against play-actors. (3) Prynne and others afterwards tortured, mutilated, and imprisoned for writing against bishops and ritual.

- iii. **The resulting colonization of New England, 1629-40:** by Puritans who, to escape persecution, followed the first Pilgrim Fathers of 1620 (*antea*, p. 161). (1) In 1630 **Massachusetts** colonized under John Winthrop. (2) In 1631 **Rhode Island** founded under Roger Williams. (3) In 1633 **Connecticut** founded.

Note.—Other colonies were also founded in this period :—(1) In 1631, **Maryland**, by numerous Catholics under Lord Baltimore; (2) **Gambia River**, by English merchants, 1631; and (3) **Fort George**, Madras, by the East India Company, 1639.

III. *Affairs in Ireland and Scotland, 1633-40.*

i. **Wentworth's 'Thorough' Government of Ireland, 1633-40.**

1. *His policy* as Lord Deputy—to apply the system of 'Thorough' in establishing Laud's episcopal system there, and in raising an Irish revenue and an army for Charles.
2. *Results of his government* :—(1) the establishment of order and efficiency everywhere under a well-officered army; (2) the introduction of *flax-growing* in Ulster; and (3) the suppression of religious dissent from Laud's system. (4) But his ruthless pursuit of the king's interests in everything, and his disregard of Irish interests, sowed the seeds of early rebellion and massacre.

ii. **In Scotland—efforts to crush Presbyterianism, 1633-8.** In 1633 Charles visited Scotland and made Laud head of the Scottish Church. Anglican doctrines and ritual were enforced, and in 1637 a revised Prayer Book for Scotland was introduced. Rioting in many places followed.

iii. **National resistance of the Scots, 1638.** In February 1638 the **Second National Covenant** (the first in 1581) to maintain Presbyterianism was signed by practically the whole nation. In November the General Assembly of the Kirk at Glasgow renewed the Covenant, declared Episcopacy abolished, and assembled a large army under Alexander Leslie.

iv. **The First Bishops' War with Scotland, 1639**—so called because concerning episcopacy. Charles advanced north with an undisciplined army, but, afraid to fight, came to terms in *the Pacification of Berwick*, which arranged for a free Assembly and Parliament at Edinburgh. When these met, however, they adhered to their first demands. Charles was now obliged to end his arbitrary rule, and summon an English Parliament.

IV. *The Short Parliament and the Second Bishops' War, 1640.*

- i. **The barren Fourth Parliament, April 13-May 5, 1640:** summoned on the advice of Wentworth, who was recalled from Ireland and made **Earl of Strafford**.

Under Pym's lead the Commons refused supplies unless grievances were redressed. Charles dismissed Parliament after a three weeks' session.

- ii. **The Second Bishops' War, 1640.**
 1. Scottish rout of Charles's army of raw recruits at **Newburn-on-Tyne** (August), and occupation of northern counties.
 2. The **Great Council of Peers** called by Charles at York to obtain money. They advised him, however, to call another Parliament.
 3. **The Treaty of Ripon, October 1640**—with the Scottish army, which was to remain in England and to receive pay, until final peace was arranged.

Note.—Charles's arbitrary government in England, and his obstinate attempts to force a hated religious system upon Scotland, had now created not only an *impasse* for himself but also a strong bond of sympathy, as well as probably a secret understanding, between his English and Scottish opponents.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN CHARLES AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-2.

I. *The Long Parliament (November 1640-March 1660): Its First Session.*

- i. **Character of the Long Parliament.** The Commons, led by Pym and Hampden, was composed of county gentlemen, with a number of lawyers and merchants, and was largely Puritan. While practically unanimous in its action against the king's ministers, and in securing constitutional reforms, it became divided on the proposals for reforming the Church.
- ii. **Events of its first Session, November 1640-September 1641.**
 1. **Arrest of Strafford and Laud** for treason, and release of Valentine and Strode, as well as of Prynne and other Star Chamber prisoners.
 2. **The Triennial Act passed, February 1641**—providing that Parliament should be called at least once every three years.
 3. **Trial and Execution of Strafford, March-May 1641.** After attempting to impeach him the Commons passed a *Bill of Attainder*, declaring him guilty of treason. The Lords hesitated, but *Goring's Army Plot* to release Strafford impelled them to pass the bill. After

much hesitation Charles signed it, and Strafford was executed. Laud was not executed till 1645.

4. **An Act passed** (May 10) preventing dissolution of Parliament without its own consent. The Commons then granted money to pay off the Scottish Army.
5. The Star Chamber and the two other courts declared to be abolished.
6. Other preventive Acts declared the levying of ship-money, tunnage and poundage, and impositions to be illegal without Parliament's consent.
7. **The Root and Branch Bill** introduced (May 27) to abolish the episcopal system. A strong opposition to it was led by **Edward Hyde** and **Lord Falkland**, and in August the bill was dropped.

Note.—A *Moderate Party* was now formed under Hyde and Falkland.

iii. Events during the Parliamentary Recess, September 9-October 20, 1641.

1. **Charles's visit to Scotland** (August-November) to gain friends by concessions, and gifts of offices and titles. Several leaders were thus won over.
2. **The Irish Insurrection and Ulster Massacre**—due to Strafford's severe rule and his withdrawal from Ireland. While the Catholic nobles were bargaining with Charles for more control of Irish affairs, the native Irish of the north rose in rebellion, and massacred the Protestants of Ulster. Puritan distrust of Charles now deepened.

II. *Events of the Second Session, October 1641-September 1642.*

- i. **Reaction in the King's favour** among the moderate party, who thought the constitution now secure, and supported episcopacy without Laudian practices.
- ii. **The Grand Remonstrance, November 1641**—drawn up by Pym to counteract this reaction by an indictment of the acts of Charles.
 - (1) It *stated* all the misdoings of Charles's government, and the good work of Parliament; and (2) it *demande*d a settlement of the Church on new lines, and the appointment of trustworthy ministers of the king. After passing the Commons (by only eleven votes) it was published broadcast.
- iii. **The King's blunders**—due to overestimating the reaction in his favour.
 - (1) He rejected the demands of the Remonstrance, and withdrew the customary guard from the Commons. (2) He impeached and attempted to **arrest the Five Members**—**Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig**, and **Strode**—and **Lord Kimbolton**, a peer (January

1642). The members escaped into the city, where the people violently denounced Charles.

III. *Preparations on both sides for War, January-August 1642.*

- i. **Charles's departure from London, January 10**—to rally his supporters in the counties. He also sent his queen to Holland to raise money, and gain foreign support.
- ii. **Exclusion of Bishops from House of Lords (February)**—sanctioned by Charles to gain time.
- iii. **The Militia Bill**—rejected by Charles; but used by Parliament to gain control of the militia. Charles similarly used *Commissions of Array*.
- iv. **The 'Nineteen Propositions' of Parliament**, restricting the royal power, rejected by Charles.
- v. **Charles's attempted seizure of Hull (April) and the Fleet**—both thwarted. He then hoisted his standard at Nottingham castle (August 22), and opened the war.

D. MILITARY STRUGGLE BETWEEN CHARLES AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT: THE GREAT CIVIL WAR, 1642-9.

D₁. FROM 1642 TO THE KING'S SURRENDER TO THE SCOTS, 1646.

I. *Causes and Conditions of the War.*

- i. **Chief causes.**
 1. **General cause**—the essential antagonism between the king's views and aims and those of the Parliamentary leaders, concerning government in both political and ecclesiastical affairs.
 2. **Immediate causes.**
 - (a) *Religious*: (1) The efforts of both Charles and Laud to turn the Church back to the semi-Catholicism of Henry VIII, ignoring the widespread advance of *Calvinism* meantime. (2) The Root and Branch Bill.
 - (b) *Political*: (1) Charles's many violations of the Petition of Right during 1629-40. (2) His abuse of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. (3) His employment of ministers not responsible to Parliament. (4) His attempted arrest of the Five Members and Lord Kimbolton. (5) His lack of straightforwardness in his dealings with his Parliaments.
- ii. **Localities and Classes favourable to each side.**
 1. The west and north (except W. Yorks.) were for the king; the south, London, and the east (except Oxford), for the Parliament.
 2. (1) *The Royalists* ('Cavaliers') were composed of most of the nobles and country gentry, together with the Catholics. (2) *The Parliamentarians* ('Roundheads') consisted of several nobles and gentry

favourable to Presbyterianism, together with the middle, commercial, and industrial classes generally.

iii. **Leaders on each side.** (1) *Royalist*—the **King** and **Prince Rupert** (West); **Hopton** (in SW.), **Earl of Newcastle** (in N.). (2) *Parliamentarian*—**Earl of Essex** (chief general); **Earl of Manchester** and **Oliver Cromwell** (in E.); **Lord Fairfax** and his son, **Sir Thomas Fairfax** (in N.); **Waller** (in SW.).

iv. **General plan of the War.** 1. From 1642-4 the king's object was to seize London, on which his three armies in the north, west, and south-west were to converge. His head-quarters were first Shrewsbury, then Oxford. The object of Essex was to bar the way by holding Plymouth, Bristol, Gloucester, Hull, and thus commanding the chief routes to London.

2. After Nantwich (1644), Charles tried to keep the north open for the advance of his Scottish supporters under Montrose.

II. *Events of the War till the Parliamentary Cleavage, 1642-4.*

i. **First Year, August-December 1642.** 1. **Battle of Edgehill** (October 23)—indecisive, but the king reached the Thames. Advancing to **Turnham Green** he was defeated by Essex and the London trainbands, and forced back to Oxford.

2. **The Parliamentary 'Associations',** or County Brigades of cavalry—formed by groups of counties. The most famous was the Eastern Counties Association under Manchester and Cromwell. It turned the war ultimately in favour of Parliament.

ii. **Second Year, 1643.** 1. *Royalist successes till July:* (1) Rupert's victory at **Chalgrove Field** (Oxford), and death of Hampden. (2) *In the west* Hopton defeated Waller at **Roundaway Down**, and Rupert captured Bristol. (3) *In the north* Newcastle defeated the Fairfaxes at **Adwalton Moor** (Bradford) and held Yorkshire except Hull. (4) *But in the east* Cromwell defeated the Royalist cavalry at **Gainsborough**.

2. *The Royalists' advance barred by Hull, Plymouth, and Gloucester*, which, if left untaken, would threaten their rear. Each town was therefore besieged; but Plymouth was relieved by sea; Gloucester, by Essex from London (September); and Hull, by Cromwell's victory at **Winceby** (Lincs.), October 11.

3. **First Battle of Newbury (September 20)**, where Essex, returning to London, defeated Charles.

4. *Efforts of both sides to gain help.* (1) **The Cessation of Arms** (September 1643)—by which Charles made a year's truce with the Catholic rebels in Ireland, thus enabling his troops there to be brought over to England.

- (2) **The Solemn League and Covenant** (September 1643)—an agreement made by Pym with the Scottish leaders.

Terms: (a) Parliament to establish Presbyterianism in England; (b) the Scots to aid Parliament with 20,000 men.

Note.—*The Westminster Assembly of Divines* now first met to devise a Presbyterian form of worship and church government for England. It sat for four years.

5. Death of Pym, December 1643.

iii. **The Third Year, 1644.** 1. Defeat of Charles's Irish troops at **Nantwich** (January).

2. Defeat of Rupert and Newcastle at **Marston Moor** (July) by Cromwell, Manchester, the Fairfaxes, and the Scots (under David Leslie).

Results: (1) The king's hold over the north lost; (2) Cromwell and his 'Ironsides' henceforward the chief influence in the Parliamentary army.

3. *Royalist victories* (1) at **Cropredy Bridge**, near Banbury (June), over Waller; and at **Lostwithiel**, in Cornwall (September), over Essex, giving the SW. to Charles.

4. Victory of Manchester at **Newbury** (second battle, October); but Charles allowed to escape.

III. *Cleavage between Presbyterians and Independents, 1644-5.*

- i. **Causes.** (1) The efforts of the Presbyterians in Parliament, after the Solemn League and Covenant, to establish Presbyterianism as the national religion. (2) The evident desire of Manchester, Essex, and other Presbyterian officers not to press the king too closely. (3) The union of Cromwellians and Independents in order to overwhelm Charles and force him to a permanent political settlement.

- ii. **Results.** 1. **The Self-denying Ordinance**, February 1645—depriving members of either House of their commands in the army, Essex, Manchester, and Waller were among those forced to retire; but Cromwell was specially excepted.

2. **The New Model Army** organized, and placed under Fairfax and Cromwell.

Note.—The majority of the new officers and men were Independents, deeply religious.

3. **Failure of the Negotiations at Uxbridge** (February 1645) between King and Parliament, because Charles thought to gain more by the cleavage.

IV. *Events from the Cleavage till Charles's Surrender, 1645-6.*

- i. **Royalist Rising in the Scottish Highlands under Montrose.** His victories :—

(1) **Tippermuir**, over Elcho, September 1644 ; (2) **Inverlochy**, over Argyll, February 1645 ; and (3) **Kilsyth**, August 1645, giving him command of nearly all Scotland.

- ii. **Victories of the New Model Army in England :—**1. **Naseby**, June 1645, where Fairfax and Cromwell routed Charles, capturing his correspondence.

Note.—The revelation of his intrigues with the French and Dutch, and with the Irish rebels, did him much harm.

2. **Bristol** (September), which Fairfax besieged, and captured from Rupert.

- iii. **Rout of the King's forces in Scotland and Cheshire, 1645.**

(1) **Philliphaugh**, in Selkirk (September 13), where David Leslie crushed Montrose and destroyed Charles's hope of Scottish aid. (2) **Rowton Heath**, near Chester (September 24), where Charles saw his last army defeated.

- iv. **The final struggle, 1646.** 1. Surrender of Hopton at **Truro** (March).

2. **Surrender of the king to the Scots at Newark** (May). They retreated with him, a prisoner, to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

3. Surrender of **Oxford** (June).

D₂. FROM THE KING'S SURRENDER TO HIS EXECUTION, 1646-9.

I. *Change from War to Intrigue. Charles and the Scots.*

- i. **Charles's object in surrendering to the Scots**—to win them over by promises and by playing on their jealousy of the English army.

- ii. **The Newcastle Proposals, 1646**—offered to the king by the Scots and Parliament jointly, in fear of the army-leaders and Independents.

Terms :—(1) Establishment of Presbyterianism in England ; (2) Parliamentary control of army and fleet for twenty years ; (3) enforcement of the laws against Catholics.

Charles's dislike of Presbyterianism caused him to reject the proposals.

- iii. **The King handed over to Parliament, January 1647**—and placed in Holmby House (Northants.). The Scots were paid off, and they retired northwards.

II. *Quarrels between Parliament and Army. Charles's continued Intrigues, 1647.*

- i. **Increased power of the Independents**—resulting from numerous *bye-elections* in 1646 to fill vacancies in Commons. The majority, however, still sought to establish universal Presbyterianism, and the Army, to establish toleration and democratic government; while Charles intrigued with both.
- ii. **Parliament's attempt to suppress the Army, March 1647**—by ordering all, except a few regiments for Ireland, to disband. Officers and men alike refused.
- iii. **The Army's counter-moves.**
 1. The king seized (June) by Cornet Joyce and taken to Newmarket, whence the army marched to London, expelled eleven Presbyterian leaders from Parliament, and placed Charles in Hampton Court.
 2. The **Army's 'Heads of Proposals'** offered to Charles—a scheme for:—
 - (1) Biennial Parliaments, (2) reformed law-courts, (3) Parliamentary command of army and fleet for *ten* years, (4) toleration for all sects except Catholics.

Charles rejected the scheme, thinking to do better with the Scots or Parliament.
- iv. **Escape of Charles to I. of Wight (November)**—but kept prisoner in Carisbrooke castle. Thence he agreed secretly with the Scots to accept Presbyterianism for three years, in return for their help (December).

III. *The Second Civil War, 1648.*

- i. **Causes:**—(1) The king's intrigues, (2) the trust still placed by many Presbyterians in his word, (3) the general alarm at the spread of extreme political doctrines, and (4) the news that the Scots would help the king.
- ii. **The Risings in Kent and Essex**—crushed by Fairfax. He defeated the Kentish royalists at **Maidstone** (June), and then captured **Colchester** (August).
- iii. **The Rising in South Wales**—crushed by Cromwell capturing **Pembroke castle** (July).
- iv. **The Invasion of the Scots** under Hamilton, defeated at **Preston** (August) by Cromwell. The two remnants escaping southwards were cut to pieces at **Wigan** and **Warrington**, Hamilton being captured and taken to London.

IV. *The Army Supreme, 1648-9.*

- i. **Parliament's Treaty of Newport with Charles, July 1648**, for establishing Presbyterianism. It was not completed when the army returned south grimly bent on ending the intrigues both of king and Parliament.
- ii. **Pride's Purge, December 6, 1648**: the expulsion of 153 Presbyterian members from the Commons by a troop under Colonel Pride. The further acts of the remnant of Parliament, known as **The Rump**, were illegal.
- iii. **Trial and Execution of Charles I, January 1649.**
 1. A special High Court of Justice, of 135 members, was appointed to try Charles, but only half of them attended.
 2. After a 'trial' lasting seven days he was declared guilty of treason against the nation, and sentenced to death.
 3. **Execution of Charles** at Whitehall Palace, January 30, 1649.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660

A. THE COMMONWEALTH PROPER, 1649-53.

I. *Establishment of the Commonwealth or Republic, 1649.*

- i. **Results of Charles I's execution.** 1. A reaction in favour of his son Charles, caused by (1) the illegality of the king's trial, (2) his dignity and piety during his last days, (3) the publication of the book *Eikon Basilike*, purporting to set forth his meditations and prayers while in prison.
2. Proclamation in Scotland and Ireland of his son as Charles II.
3. Hostility of most European states against the Commonwealth.
- ii. **Establishment of a new Government by the Rump**, supported by the Army.
 - (1) The House of Commons declared to be the supreme power, and the Kingship and House of Lords abolished; (2) a *Council of State* of 41 members appointed to govern. President, **Bradshaw**; Latin Secretary, **John Milton**.

II. *Resistance to the Commonwealth, 1649-52.*

- i. **In England, May 1649: Revolt of the Levellers** (extremists for whom the new government was too moderate). They demanded

annual Parliaments, manhood suffrage, reform in Parliament and law-courts, and abolition of rank and class-privilege; but they were quickly suppressed by Cromwell.

ii. **In Ireland, 1649-51: Rebellion of the united Irish parties** under Ormonde, and proclamation of Charles II.

1. Defeat of Ormonde at **Rathmines** near Dublin (August 1649) by General Jones.
2. Arrival of Cromwell as Governor of Ireland, followed by his siege and capture of **Drogheda** (September) and **Wexford** (October).

Both garrisons were put to the sword for not surrendering. Many towns then capitulated without fighting, and Cromwell returned to England.

3. The **re-settlement of Ireland**—first by **Ireton**, who captured **Waterford** and **Limerick** before his death, 1651; and then by **Ludlow** and **Fleetwood**, who carried out Cromwell's policy by confiscating rebels' lands, and re-settling them with English colonists. Peace and order were restored, but a heritage of hatred was left behind.

iii. **In Scotland, 1649-51.** 1. **Efforts of Prince Charles and the Scots.** (1) The prince proclaimed as Charles II by Montrose, who raised the Highlands on his behalf. The Presbyterians also offered to help Charles if he would accept the Covenant, but he delayed to do so. (2) Defeat of Montrose at **Corbiesdale** by Argyll, and execution, May 1650. (3) Acceptance of the Covenant by Charles, and his arrival in Scotland from Holland.

2. **Cromwell's Invasion of Scotland, July 1650.** (1) His march on Edinburgh and retirement, followed by his defeat of the Scots at **Dunbar** (**September 3, 1650**). (2) His conquest of Edinburgh and the Lowlands. (3) Coronation of Charles by the Scots at Scone, January 1, 1651.

3. **Invasion of England by Charles, King of Scots.** Being turned from London westward by the militia, the Scots were overtaken and defeated by Cromwell at **Worcester** (**September 3, 1651**). Charles escaped to France, June 1652.

4. **Conquest of Scotland completed by Monk and Fleetwood, 1651-5.**

Parliament was abolished, but Presbyterianism and free-trade were allowed. The country greatly prospered, but always chafed at the English domination.

iv. **Resistance at sea.** 1. The British coasts harassed by Prince Rupert with many privateers, but finally cleared by **Admiral Blake**, 1650.

2. Rupert's fleet annihilated in the Mediterranean, 1651, by Blake, whose fleet during next year triumphed everywhere.

Note.—The English navy was greatly developed under the Commonwealth by Sir Harry Vane and Admiral Blake, and England became a great sea-power. During 1649–57 there arose a number of famous sea-captains—Monk, Venables, Penn, Deane, and others. *Blake is the greatest English admiral between Drake and Nelson.*

III. *The Commonwealth and Foreign Countries, 1649–54.*

- i. **Foreign hostility**—caused by the execution of Charles I. In Holland and Spain the Republic's ambassadors were assassinated, 1649. In the Tagus the Portuguese forts fired on Blake's fleet, 1651.
- ii. **The first Dutch War, 1652–4.**

1. *Causes*: (1) Dutch sympathy with the Stuart cause, and the influence of Royalist refugees. (2) The rivalry between England and the Dutch Republic, owing to the latter's rapidly increasing maritime power through its carrying trade. (3) *The Navigation Act of 1651*, passed by the Rump Parliament to cripple the Dutch trade, especially that with the English colonies.

It forbade goods being imported into England or its colonies except by English ships or by those of the country producing the goods.

Result—a great increase of English shipping for trade abroad (*postea*, p. 185).

2. *Events of the War*—entirely maritime.

- (1) **1652**. Blake victorious (May) off **Dover**, but defeated by Van Tromp in **Dover Roads** (November).
- (2) **1653**. Blake twice victorious, and Van Tromp defeated and killed off the **Texel** by Monk.
- (3) **Peace of Westminster, April 1654**, in which the Dutch
 - (a) acknowledged English supremacy over British seas, (b) promised not to aid the Royalists, and (c) compensated certain English traders at **Amboyna** in the East Indies.

IV. *Renewed Quarrel between Army and Parliament, 1652–3.*

- i. **Unpopularity of the Rump**—*due to* its unrepresentative character, the arrogance and corruption of its members, and their delay in undertaking much-needed reforms urged by the Army and otherwise.
- ii. **Its expulsion by Cromwell, April 1653**, in order to prevent its members from passing a bill which would have continued its existence and made it more powerful. *Cromwell and the Army were now supreme.*

iii. **The Council of Nominees, or Barebone's Parliament, 1653:**
elected, as an experimental body of 140 members in place of Parliament, by Cromwell and a committee. It proved impracticable, and was dismissed, December 1653.

X iv. **The Instrument of Government, December 1653**—drawn up by the Army.

1. *Its character*—England's first *written* constitution, framed to prevent the establishment of absolutism, either by Parliament or the Protector.
2. *Chief provisions*: (1) Cromwell to be **Lord Protector** and General by Land and Sea—both offices for life. (2) A new Council of State formed, to control jointly with him the administration of national affairs, foreign and domestic. (3) A single House of Parliament, *including members from Scotland and Ireland*, to meet at least once in three years, and five months at a time. (4) Until Parliament should meet, September 3, 1654, Cromwell and the Council to rule by ordinances.

B. THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL,

December 1653–September 1658.

I. Cromwell's early Career, Character, and Policy.

- i. **Summary of early career**—(1) Great-grandson of *nephew* of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. (2) *Born* at Huntingdon, 1599, and educated there and at Cambridge. (3) *Married* to Elizabeth Bourchier, 1620, becoming a gentleman farmer. (4) *Sat* for Cambridge in the Short and Long Parliaments, and very active in support of Pym. (5) On the outbreak of war, 1642, helped greatly in forming the 'Eastern Association', and trained its cavalry so well that they ultimately turned the war in favour of Parliament. [Thenceforward, his many victories in battle and his general career may be gathered from the previous and present chapters.]
- ii. **His strong character**—shown in his deep religious convictions (especially his belief in the unceasing providence of God), his tolerance, sound judgement, quick decision, and practical temper, his power of command, strong will, and untiring energy. With his success, however, he became despotic, though he always used his power for his country's advancement, not for his own. Had Charles I, indeed, shown equal patriotism in his negotiations with the Army, Cromwell would, and could, have replaced him on his throne.
- iii. **His domestic policy and reforms.** 1. *Religious*—(1) toleration for all forms of religion except Romanism and Episcopacy, and (2) maintenance of a national religion out of state funds. The Church was reorganized, and the fitness of all ministers tested by a **Board of Triers** (1654) appointed by the Council.

2. *Political*—(1) *In England* he sought to improve the law courts, the revenue, and public morality. Ordinances were made to stop duelling, cock-fighting, drunkenness, and swearing.
- (2) *In Ireland* he pursued the mistaken policy of repression by the confiscation of lands of Royalists and Catholics—with disastrous later results.
- (3) *In Scotland* religious toleration and free-trade with England were granted. Both Scotland and Ireland were completely united with England.

X II. *Failure of the Instrument: followed by Arbitrary Rule, September 1654–September 1656.*

- i. **The first Protectorate Parliament, 1654–5**, which met September 3, 1654.
 1. Strong opposition to 'government by a single person' shown by Vane and other extreme Republicans.
 2. A hundred of them were excluded for refusing a pledge to maintain the Instrument of Government; and, when discussion without reforms still continued, Cromwell dissolved Parliament, January 1655.
- ii. **Plots against Cromwell's rule and life.** 1. **Vowel and Gerard's Plot** to kill Cromwell and proclaim Charles II. The leaders executed, 1654.
2. **Penruddock's Rising** at Salisbury, March 1656—suppressed by troops, and leaders hanged.
- X iii. **Cromwell's Government by Major-Generals, 1655–6**, to repress Royalist sedition. England was divided into twelve military districts, each under a major-general with almost despotic power. To pay the expenses a tax of one-tenth—the *Decimation*—was put on Royalists' property.

Results: (1) All laws, taxation, religion, practically under one man's arbitrary rule; (2) the new military government very unpopular, and a chief cause of the Restoration in 1660.

III. *Cromwell and Foreign Countries, 1654–8.*

- i. **His general foreign policy:** (1) to maintain the Protestant religion abroad, (2) to extend England's commerce and restore her European position as under Elizabeth, and (3) to prevent restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid.
- ii. **His early Treaties.** 1. Advantageous peace with Holland, April 1654 (see p. 179).
2. Commercial treaties made with Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, 1654.

iii. **His protection of Protestants abroad, 1655**—by forcing the Duke of Savoy, through Louis XIV, to *cease persecuting the Waldenses or Vaudois*, his Protestant subjects in the Maritime Alps.

iv. **His War with Spain, 1655-9.**

1. *Cause*—the rejection by Philip IV of Cromwell's proposals for an alliance with Spain, then at war with France, on the basis of religious toleration for English merchants in Spanish dominions, and free-trade for English traders in W. Indies.
2. *Events.* (1) Capture of **Jamaica**, May 1655, by Penn and Venables.
- (2) Cromwell's alliance with France, October 1655 (Prince Charles Stuart being thereby excluded from France). War was now formally declared by Spain.
- (3) Great victory by Blake off **Teneriffe**, April 1657, and capture of immense Spanish treasure. Blake, dying at sea, July 1657, was buried in Westminster Abbey.
- (4) **Battle of the Dunes, June 1658**, and capture of **Dunkirk** by English and French troops. Dunkirk and Mardyke acquired by England.
- (5) Peace made soon after between England and Spain, *and also* (by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659) between France and Spain (see *postea*, p. 186).

IV. *Cromwell's Second Parliament, September 1656-February 1658.*

i. **Its character.** Called to provide money for the Spanish war, it was a packed Parliament, many extreme Republicans being excluded at its first meeting. Government by major-generals was withdrawn in return for 'supplies'.

X ii. **The Humble Petition and Advice, June 1657**, passed by Parliament after plots to kill the Protector, by **Colonel Saxby** (a Leveller) and the Royalists, had failed.

- (1) Power was given to the Protector to nominate his successor, and also an Upper House; (2) the excluded members were allowed to return; and (3) toleration was granted to all except Papists and Socinians (who denied the divinity of Christ).

Note.—Cromwell was also offered the title of king, but he wisely rejected it.

iii. **Parliament dissolved, February 1658**, through dissensions caused by the extremists.

iv. **Death of Cromwell, September 3, 1658**, from fever and exhaustion caused by the strain and anxieties of his position.

**C. THE SECOND PROTECTORATE AND THE COLLAPSE
OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1658-60.**

I. *The Brief Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, September 1658-May 1659.*

- i. **Character of Richard.** Neither a soldier nor an extreme Puritan, he was fond of country life, and moreover he lacked his father's vigour and ability.
- ii. **The third Protectorate Parliament, January-April 1659.** Quarrels soon arose over Richard's status in the army, and he was forced to dissolve Parliament.
- iii. **The Rump Parliament recalled, May 7, by the Army Council.** The opposition of its members to 'government by a single person' brought on—
- iv. **Richard's Abdication, May 1659,** and his retirement into private life.

II. *Anarchical Close of the Commonwealth, May 1659-May 1660.*

- i. **Contest between Army and Rump Parliament**—the latter attempting to gain control of the former. General Lambert, after suppressing a Royalist rising in Cheshire, forcibly dismissed the Rump; but it was restored again.
- ii. **Intervention of General Monk from Scotland, February 1660.**
 1. His march south was opposed by Lambert, but supported by Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire. He reached London, after finding a popular welcome everywhere.
 2. **End of the Long Parliament, March 16, 1660**—brought about by Monk restoring the Presbyterians expelled by Pride's Purge. These out-voted the Republicans and dissolved Parliament (refer *antea*, p. 171).
 3. **A Convention Parliament of Lords and Commons** summoned, April 1660, to which a large majority of Royalists and Presbyterians was elected. Charles II was now invited to return to England from Holland.
- iii. **Return of Charles II, May 1660.**
 1. His **Declaration of Breda**, in which, on Monk's advice, he promised four things, 'subject to the assent of Parliament':—
 - (1) a full amnesty to all not excluded by Parliament therefrom; (2) liberty of conscience; (3) settlement of disputes about property; and (4) payment of arrears to Monk's army.
 2. Entry of Charles into London, May 29, amid general rejoicings.

- iv. **Causes of the Restoration:** (1) The revulsion of feeling in favour of the Stuarts caused by Charles I's execution. (2) The eleven years of military rule, especially that of 1655-6. (3) The attempt to enforce Puritanism and Puritan severity of manners upon the whole nation. (4) The failure of government after Cromwell's death. (5) The confident belief of many Presbyterians that the restoration of Charles II would bring about the inclusion of at least some of their tenets in the restored national religion.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES II, 1660-1685

- (i) **CHARACTER OF CHARLES II.** He had many superficially attractive qualities: frankness, good-nature, great shrewdness, a gay and polite manner. But at heart he was selfish and unprincipled, sensual and profligate. He was, moreover, unpatriotic, and became a mere hireling of Louis XIV. In religion he was secretly Catholic.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** 1. *Domestic:* (1) to promote religious toleration with the ultimate view of restoring Catholicism in England; (2) to avoid clashing with Parliament, and yet to become as independent of it as possible; (3) to govern through ministers on whom he could throw the blame for his mistakes.
2. *Foreign:* to ally with Louis XIV in order (1) to cripple the Dutch Republic, and thus promote English commerce, and (2) to be independent of Parliament.

A. ADMINISTRATION OF CLARENDON, 1660-7.

I. *Settlements arranged by the Convention Parliament, 1660.*

- i. **Act of Indemnity and Oblivion** for all offences committed during the late civil strife (as promised in the Declaration of Breda).

But owing to the violent Royalist feeling in Parliament many exceptions were made, thirteen men being ultimately executed, others imprisoned, and the bodies of Cromwell, Pym, Blake, and other leaders exhumed and hanged.

- ii. **Religious Toleration.** Charles's promise here proved abortive; for (1) *The Savoy Conference*, 1661, in which the Presbyterians tried to get a revision of the Liturgy, came to naught, and (2) *The Clarendon Code*, 1661-5 (see *below*), was made by Clarendon a powerful means of persecuting Nonconformist Puritans.

- iii. **The Army.** Monk was made Duke of Albemarle, and his army paid

off and disbanded, except two regiments retained by Charles as his 'Life Guards'—*the beginning of our modern Standing Army.*

- iv. **Property.** Confiscated lands were restored to the Church and Crown, and to some Cavaliers; but private sales were declared legal. Clarendon thus unpopular with his own party even.
- v. **Settlement of the King's revenue in its modern form:** all feudal incidents were abolished, and a fixed annual income of £1,200,000 was granted to the Crown, to be raised by new excise duties.

Note.—The Convention Parliament was dissolved December 1660, and a proper one called, which lasted May 1661–January 1679, nearly eighteen years.

II. *The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–79. Its First Period, 1661–7.*

- i. **Character of this Parliament**—at first violently Royalist and Episcopalian, nine-tenths of its members being Cavaliers, the rest Presbyterians. But, as the character of Charles and his court developed, that of Parliament changed with fresh bye-elections, until in the last period (1674–9) a strong party was formed in opposition to the court.

ii. **Chief measures of its first Session, 1661**—mostly reactionary.

- (1) The Convention's settling Acts were confirmed under Clarendon's influence, after great opposition; (2) the bishops were restored to the Upper House; (3) control of land and sea forces restored to the king; and (4) the Corporation Act passed, 1661 (*below*). 24

Note.—Parliament also confirmed the *fresh Navigation Act* passed 1660, which, besides renewing the Act of 1651 (*antea*, p. 179), further enacted that (1) no English colony should *export* tobacco, sugar, ginger, and dyes (the 'enumerated' articles) *except to England or some other colony*, and (2) all goods *imported* by a colony must come *from England only*. *Results:* to increase England's commerce and industries; but also to inflame Dutch hostility (see *below*) and arouse bitterness in New England against the government (*postea*, p. 194). 25

- iii. **The Clarendon Code, 1661–5:** four laws passed, through the influence of Lord Clarendon (formerly Edward Hyde, *antea*, p. 171), against all non-Churchmen. ✓

- 1. **The Corporation Act, December 1661**, ordered all officials in towns (1) to renounce the Covenant, (2) to take the Anglican Sacrament, (3) to swear belief in the doctrine of Passive Obedience to the King. ✓ 34

- 2. **The Fourth Act of Uniformity, 1662**, ordered all clergy, refusing to accept the Prayer Book and renounce the Covenant, to be deprived of their posts. About 2,000 clergymen consequently resigned their livings. ✓ 37

- ✓ 3. **The Conventicle Act, 1664**, forbade, under heavy penalties, the assembly of over *four* persons for worship not according to the Prayer Book.

67. 4. **The Five-Mile Act, 1665**, forbade all dissenting clergymen to teach or come within five miles of a corporate town.

Note.—*The proper beginning of Nonconformity or Dissent dates from the Uniformity Act of 1662.* Until then all dissenters had remained within the Church, but thenceforward Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers began to form separate religious communities. The Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts were passed owing to the early activity of these Nonconformists, and religious persecution was renewed.

- ✓ iv. **The Great Plague, 1665, and the Great Fire of London, 1666.**

III. *The Restoration in Scotland and Ireland, 1660–5.*

- i. **In Scotland**—Charles's measures destroyed all hopes of retaining Presbyterianism.

1. In 1661 the **Earl of Lauderdale** was made head of the Scottish Privy Council, and **Sharpe**, a former Presbyterian, made Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Episcopalian system was then restored through the Scottish Parliament.

2. In 1662 Argyll and other leading Covenanters were executed, and then began a long persecution of Presbyterians lasting till 1688.

- ii. **In Ireland.** 1. In 1661 Ormonde, now Governor again, passed an Act of Settlement through the Irish Parliament rearranging the Cromwellian land-settlement, and attempting to satisfy the claims of both Catholics and Protestants, but *two-thirds of Irish land still remained in Protestant hands.*

2. In 1665 the English Parliament, to protect English farmers, forbade all importation of Irish cattle and provisions into England, thus renewing discontent.

IV. *Charles II and Foreign Affairs, 1661–7.*

- i. **Altered condition of European states since Elizabeth's days.**

- (1) By the *Treaty of Westphalia*, 1648 (closing the Thirty Years' War), German Protestants had gained rest and security, and the power of the Emperor had become more nominal than real. (2) By the *Treaty of the Pyrenees*, 1659, France instead of Spain had become the chief continental power and, owing to Louis XIV's ambition, the chief danger to European peace. *French objects and policy after 1660 were* (a) to secure the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium), Franche Comté, &c., and extend France's boundary to the Rhine; (b) to prevent England and Holland, the two chief maritime powers, from growing powerful enough to thwart France either separately or in alliance.

ii. **Foreign policy of Clarendon (and Charles)**—the traditional but now mistaken one of friendship with France and hostility to Spain. Hence—

1. The marriage of Charles II, 1662, to *Katherine of Braganza*, sister of the Portuguese king, and Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Spain. As a dowry Charles received **Bombay Island** in India, and **Tangier** in N. Africa.
2. The sale of Dunkirk to Louis XIV (which increased Clarendon's unpopularity).

iii. **The Second Dutch War, 1664-7.**

1. *Causes*: (1) Commercial and colonial rivalry, and the passing of the *second Navigation Act* in 1660 (see above). (2) Charles II's aims to get his young nephew, **William of Orange**, elected as Stadtholder of Holland instead of De Witt.
2. *Events*: (1) 1664—English capture of the Dutch colony of *New Amsterdam* in N. America. Renamed **New York** after James, Duke of York.
- (2) 1665—defeat of Dutch **off Lowestoft** by James (Lord High Admiral).
- (3) 1666—(a) alliance of Louis XIV with the Dutch. (b) Indecisive four-days' fight **off the Dunes** by Monk against De Ruyter and Van Tromp. (c) Two English victories over De Ruyter, and plunder of Dutch coast.
- (4) 1667—(a) treaty by Charles II with Louis XIV, the latter withdrawing from the Dutch alliance. (b) English shipping burnt in the Medway by the Dutch, and London blockaded for several weeks owing to Charles's neglect.
3. **Peace of Breda, July 1667**. England retained New York and the Hudson valley, and Holland Surinam, while Acadie (later Nova Scotia) went to France.

Note.—In May 1667 Louis XIV claimed the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, sister of the boy-king Charles II of Spain, and began the 'War of Devolution' against Spain (1667-78). This was the opening of a long period of French aggression.

iv. **Increase of England's Colonies and possessions, 1660-8.**

1. *In Asia*: **Bombay I.**, acquired from Portugal 1662 and transferred 1668 to the East India Company, which had gained **Madras**, 1637, from the Great Mogul and thus laid the foundations of our Indian Empire.
2. *In N. America*: (1) **Carolina** settled 1663 by a trading company, with its capital *Charlestown* (both named after Charles II). (2) **New York**, captured from the Dutch 1664. By 1667 all the Atlantic seaboard between Acadie and Florida was English.
3. *In Africa*: (1) Several 'factories' on the **Guinea coast**, and (2) **Tangier** (1662).

V. *The Parliament, Charles II, and Clarendon, 1665-7.*

- i. **Parliament's resumption of control over Finances, 1665**—by the Commons reviving 'Appropriation of Supplies', in *abeyance since Yorkist times*. The resumption was due to Charles having misapplied several previous subsidies.

- ii. **Threatened impeachment of Clarendon, and his Fall, 1667, due—**

- (1) to his unpopularity in Parliament on account of the Amnesty, property disputes, sale of Dunkirk, and other questions, and (2) to his frequent opposition to and censure of the extravagance and lax morality of Charles and his court. To prevent Parliament impeaching him Charles helped him to escape to France.

Note.—There Clarendon finished his famous *History of the Great Rebellion*, and died 1674.

B. THE CABAL MINISTRY, 1667-74.

I. *Foreign Affairs, 1667-72.*

- i. **The Cabal**—was a committee of five men chosen from the Privy Council to manage both foreign and domestic affairs. They were: *Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale* (for Scottish affairs).

- ii. **The Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, 1668**—made by the Cabal ministry, alarmed at Louis XIV's conquests in Spanish Flanders. He was thus forced to make a temporary peace with Spain.

- iii. **The Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670**—made between Charles and Louis :—

- (1) Charles to help Louis in a war against Holland and Flanders; (2) in return to receive £150,000 at once, and £230,000 yearly during the war, and also to have certain Flemish territory. (3) *Charles to declare himself a Catholic as soon as convenient*, with aid of French troops if necessary.

Note 1.—Charles had *secretly* confessed himself a Catholic, December 1669, and his brother James *openly* earlier in the year.

Note 2.—The full treaty was known only to Clifford and Arlington, both Catholics; a sham treaty (omitting last clause) was made to deceive the other ministers.

Results of the Secret Treaty: (1) Charles II became a mere hireling of Louis XIV, and England a subordinate of France; (2) it was a turning-point in the reign and, together with the Duke of York's Catholicism, marked a renewal of the anti-Romanist movement in England; (3) England left the Triple Alliance, and began the Third Dutch War (see III, *below*).

II. *Home Affairs, 1669-72.*

- i. **Charles and the Parliament.** The latter showing, during 1670, activity against Romanism and toleration, Charles obtained from it £800,000 for the navy, and then, in April 1671, prorogued it till February 1673. *In that interval three important events occurred:—*
- ii. **Charles's Stop of the Exchequer, 1672**—i.e. his refusal to pay when due a million pounds lent to him by the goldsmiths. This caused a commercial panic and great distress.
- iii. **His Declaration of Indulgence, 1672**—the first step towards restoring Romanism. By this Charles suspended the laws against all Nonconformists, Catholic and Protestant.
Note.—For his support of this measure **Ashley**, a lover of toleration, was made *Earl of Shaftesbury* and Lord Chancellor. Amongst the prisoners released by the Declaration was **John Bunyan**.
- iv. **War declared on Holland, March 1672**—after a Dutch merchant fleet had been treacherously attacked, by Charles's order, off the Isle of Wight.

III. *The Third Dutch War, March 1672-February 1674.*

- i. **Events. 1672.** (1) Battle of **Southwold Bay**, Suffolk (June). De Ruyter defeated by the combined English and French fleets. (2) South Holland overrun by French troops, whom De Witt forced to retire by flooding the country from the dykes. (3) De Witt assassinated and *William of Orange*, only twenty-two years old, made stadtholder of Holland.
1673. An English fleet defeated **off the Texel** by the Dutch (August).
- ii. **The Peace of Westminster, 1674**—made owing to the popular clamour against any French alliance, and to Parliamentary events during 1673 (see *below*).

Note.—The war against France was continued by William of Orange till 1678, in alliance with Austria, Spain, and several German states.

IV. *Parliament's increasing Hostility to Catholicism, 1673-4.*

- i. **The king forced to withdraw his 'Indulgence'**—when Parliament reassembled, February 1673, after being prorogued twenty-one months (see *above*).
- ii. **The Test Act, 1673**—to which Charles had to assent to obtain a subsidy. All persons holding office under the Crown must
 (1) take the Anglican Sacrament, (2) publicly declare against *Transubstantiation*.

Results: (1) James, Duke of York, was forced to resign his office of Lord High Admiral, and (2) Lord Clifford, that of Treasurer; (3) beginning of 'occasional conformity' among Dissenting office-holders.

- iii. **Duke of York's marriage to Mary of Modena (a Catholic), November 1673**—causing a great increase of anti-Catholicism in both Parliament and country.
- iv. **Break-up of the Cabal, 1673-4.** In 1673 Clifford had to retire, and Charles dismissed Shaftesbury for helping to pass the Test Act. In 1674 Buckingham and Arlington retired.

C. ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF DANBY, 1674-9.

I. *Danby and Court Party v. Shaftesbury and Country Party, 1674-5.*

- i. **Danby's policy and system of bribery.** While adopting Clarendon's policy of 'Church and King' and 'No Toleration', he advocated opposition to France. To maintain a majority in Parliament, now grown much less fervidly Cavalier, *he practised bribery, which he was the first to organize into a system.*

Note.—Danby's policy illustrates the fact that after the Commonwealth the King had more and more to subordinate his own policy to that of his ministers.

- ii. **Shaftesbury and the Country Party in opposition.** 1. **Formation of two parties in Parliament**—the *Court Party*, supporting Charles and his ministers, and the *Country Party*, formed owing to

- (1) Charles's extravagance and dissipation, (2) his suspected leanings to Roman Catholicism and a French alliance, (3) his gradual increase of a standing army, (4) his attempts at absolutism by long prorogations of Parliament.

Note.—When Shaftesbury in 1675 became leader of the Country Party, he initiated the modern Parliamentary 'Opposition'. His policy was one of anti-Popery and toleration for Protestant Dissenters.

- 2. **Defeat of Danby's Non-Resistance Bill (1675)**, which proposed to exclude from office or Parliament all refusing an oath of non-resistance to the king or the present government. Parliament was now prorogued (see *below*).
- 3. The closing of Coffee-houses by Charles (1675) to check political discussion; but soon reopened to pacify popular indignation.
- iii. **Louis XIV's bribery:** (1) of Shaftesbury and other opposition leaders, to prevent Parliament provoking a war with France, and

(2) of Charles II for the same purpose, by making with him the *Second Secret Treaty* (November 1675).

In return for £100,000 a year Charles prorogued Parliament till February 1677.

II. *Home and Foreign Affairs, 1677-8.*

i. **Fifteenth Session of Parliament (February-July 1677).** 1.

Shaftesbury imprisoned for twelve months for attempting to force a *dissolution* of Parliament.

2. Parliament balked, in its attempts to force Charles into an alliance against France, by his frequent short adjournments of it.

3. Parliament prorogued till May 1678, for which Charles received from Louis £1,600,000 in their *Third Secret Treaty*, July 1677.

ii. **Marriage (November 1677) between William of Orange and Mary**—daughter of the Duke of York—amid general rejoicings.

Promoted by Danby, it ended the long hostility between England and Holland; but it caused a temporary rupture between Louis and Charles. The latter then allied with Holland, and prepared for a war with France; but Louis made with him the *Fourth Secret Treaty*, May 1678, giving him money to withdraw from the Dutch alliance.

Note.—Louis then made the *Treaty of Nijmegen*, July 1678, closing his continental war. He gained Franche Comté, several Flemish fortresses, and the predominant position in Europe.

iii. **The alleged Popish Plot, 1678**—‘disclosed’ by **Titus Oates**, to massacre English Protestants, kill the king, and put his brother James on the throne with French aid.

Chief results of Oates’s ‘revelations’: (1) a widespread panic, and a persecution of Catholics, over 30 of whom were executed, and hundreds imprisoned on the *worthless evidence* of Oates and his accomplices. (2) A *Disabling Act* passed, excluding all Papists from Parliament, James being alone exempted.

Note.—The Plot was fictitious, but Shaftesbury used it to secure the downfall of Danby and James.

III. *Danby’s Impeachment, and Dissolution of Parliament.*

i. **Combination of Louis XIV with the Opposition to overthrow**

Danby—by causing the *Fourth Secret Treaty* (*above*), which had been *written out* by Danby, to be revealed to Parliament. Danby was then impeached.

ii. **Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament by Charles, January 1679**—in order to save Danby, and to protect himself and his French policy from attack.

D. CHARLES II'S STRUGGLES WITH THE THREE SHORT PARLIAMENTS OVER THE EXCLUSION BILL, 1679-81.

I. The First Short Parliament (March-May 1679), and Fall of Danby.

- i. **Character of the new Parliament:** influenced by fear of the Popish Plot, and strongly hostile to Danby, the Duke of York, and Charles himself.
- ii. **Danby's impeachment renewed**—despite his plea of responsibility to Charles alone. He was deprived of office and imprisoned in the Tower (see *postea*, p. 194).

Note.—His conviction finally established the responsibility of ministers to *Parliament* and not to the *King*.

- iii. **Sir William Temple's new scheme of Ministry:** a Privy Council of 30, containing 15 ministers and 15 others from both parties in Parliament. Shaftesbury was its first president; but it soon proved unworkable and a failure.
- iv. **The Exclusion Bill introduced by Shaftesbury**—to exclude James, Duke of York, from the succession. To prevent its passage Charles dissolved Parliament.
- v. **The Habeas Corpus Act, May 1679**—passed, by Shaftesbury's influence, on the day of dissolution.

Object—to prevent the Crown from delaying trials and imprisoning people without cause.

II. Affairs in Scotland, 1677-9.

- i. **Persecution of Covenanters**—by Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharpe—for many years. *Graham of Claverhouse* and his Highland host were sent in 1677 to suppress 'conventicles' in the south-west.
- ii. **The Rebellion of 1679.** (1) Archbishop Sharpe murdered near St. Andrews (May), and risings made both in east and west. (2) Victory of rebels over Graham at **Drumclog** (June). (3) Expedition under the **Duke of Monmouth** sent by Charles, and the rebellion crushed at **Bothwell Bridge (June 22)**.
- iii. **Renewed Persecution (1679-88)** by the Duke of York—sent north by Charles out of harm's way. A terrible time followed, James trying to crush Presbyterianism out of Scotland by unsparing severity.

III. The Second Short Parliament, 1679-81: Shaftesbury v. the King.

- i. **Parliament prorogued without meeting (October 1679)**—because of the increased majority returned to support the Exclusion Bill.

Shaftesbury, now at the height of his popularity, was dismissed from office.

- ii. **The Duke of Monmouth**—eldest of Charles II's illegitimate sons, put forward by Shaftesbury as heir to the throne, and supported by many.

But Charles, faithful to his brother, *relied on the national dread of civil war* to thwart and overthrow Shaftesbury and his party.

- iii. **The Petitioners and Abhorrrers, 1680.** The former, the supporters of the Exclusion Bill, sent numerous petitions praying Charles to summon Parliament; the latter, petitions expressing abhorrence of attempts to force the royal will.

Note.—The Petitioners soon got nicknamed *Whigs* (after the Scottish Covenanters) and the Abhorrrers *Tories* (after the wild Catholic outlaws of western Ireland).

- iv. **Assembly of Parliament, October 1680–January 1681.** (1) The Exclusion Bill passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords on the advice of **Lord Halifax**.

- (2) Parliament dissolved by Charles, encouraged by the attitude of Halifax and the moderates in the Lords, and by signs of reaction from the Popish Plot in London and elsewhere. A new Parliament ordered to meet March 21.

IV. *The Third Short Parliament at Oxford, March 21–8, 1681.*

- i. **Parliament attended by Charles with guards**, and by the Whigs with armed followers—*making*, as Charles wished, *the nation more afraid of impending civil war than of a Catholic heir to the throne*.
- ii. **Parliament abruptly dissolved**—because the Commons violently insisted on the total exclusion of James from the throne.

E. CHARLES II'S ABSOLUTE RULE, 1681–5.

I. *Tory Reaction and Charles's Vengeance.*

- i. **The King's triumphant position**—*owing to*
 - (1) his *new Secret Treaty* with Louis XIV, by which he obtained a large yearly pension for leaving Parliament uncalled; (2) the Tory reaction throughout the country (except London) against armed revolution; (3) his standing army.
- ii. **Trial of Shaftesbury on charges of treason, July 1681**—before a London jury. He was acquitted amid great rejoicings in the city.
- iii. **His flight to Holland, November 1682**—when Charles had secured

a Tory Mayor and Tory sheriffs for London. Shaftesbury died at Amsterdam, January 1683.

II. *Events of 1683-4.*

- i. **The Rye-House Plot, May 1683**—to kill Charles and James between London and Newmarket. It was discovered, and most of the conspirators were executed.
- ii. **Overthrow of the Whig leaders, 1683.** Though they were innocent of real complicity in the plot, Charles had many leading Whigs arrested and implicated in it. **Russell, Algernon Sidney**, and others were executed, while **Essex** committed suicide in the Tower.
- iii. **Despotic practices of Charles.**
 1. James restored to the Privy Council and Admiralty—against the Test Act.
 2. Persecution of Dissenters (Whigs) renewed, and prisons filled with them.
 3. Danby released, February 1684—in defiance of the sentence of Parliament.
 4. No new Parliament summoned—contrary to the Triennial Act of 1641.
 5. The corporations of London, and other towns adverse to Charles, remodelled 1683-4, without Parliament's consent, so as to secure the next Parliament being Tory.

III. *Death of Charles II, 1685. Importance of his Reign.*

- i. **Charles died** unexpectedly, February 6.
- ii. **Chief features of reign.**
 1. *Political and constitutional:* (1) Gradual recovery of Parliament during the reign from its Cavalier subserviency to the king. (2) Beginning of government by administrations in touch with Parliamentary opinion; and, with this, the final establishment of ministerial responsibility to Parliament and not to king. (3) Formation of permanent political parties in opposition to each other, thus preparing the way for Parliamentary government by party.
 2. *Religious:* (1) Re-establishment of the Church of England in a stronger position than ever before. (2) Definite beginning of Nonconformity or Dissent *outside the Church*. (3) Growth of a desire to grant toleration in religion—in part achieved 1689 (*postea*, p. 209).
 3. *Foreign:* (1) The shameful subserviency of England to France, and her consequent impotence in the councils of Europe. (2) The Orange marriage and its important political and constitutional consequences.
 4. **Colonial.** (1) The development, by Clarendon, Shaftesbury, and Charles II himself, of the colonial policy begun by the Common-

wealth and Cromwell, which aimed at fostering 'plantations' (colonies) *and trade therewith in the mercantile interests* (thus known as 'The Mercantile System'). (2) The consequent considerable increase of England's American colonies during the reign, with, at the same time, an increasing colonial bitterness against the home government which subsequently became a leading cause of the American Rebellion of 1775.

CHAPTER V

JAMES II, 1685-1688

- (i) **CHARACTER OF JAMES II.** Lacking the shrewdness and geniality of his brother, he was yet more steadfast, diligent, and business-like. He was *formally* religious, but at heart sensual, vindictive, and remorseless.
- (ii) **POLICY.** While he promised to the Council to preserve the government in Church and State as by law then established, he secretly intended to make himself absolute in the State, and to re-establish papal authority over the Church.

A. JAMES II'S SHORT PERIOD OF TRIUMPH, February-September 1685.

I. *James's early Proceedings, and his only Parliament.*

- i. **Charles's Tory ministers retained in office**—the chief being the *Earls of Clarendon and Rochester* (James's brothers-in-law), *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*.
- ii. **Two illegal acts:** (1) he attended public mass at Whitehall Palace chapel, (2) he levied, without Parliament's consent, taxes granted to Charles for life only.
- iii. **A Secret Treaty made with Louis XIV,** and French money accepted, by James.
- iv. **Early acts of persecution.** 1. *In Scotland*—he caused the Scots Parliament to pass an act punishing attendance at 'conventicles' with death. Through **Graham of Claverhouse**, James's henchman, many Covenanters suffered martyrdom.
- 2. *In England*—after first punishing Titus Oates and his accomplices, he began to persecute Dissenters through **Chief Justice Jeffreys**.
- v. **First Session of James's only Parliament, May-July 1685:** in which there was a large Tory majority (*antea*, p. 194).

The Commons voted James £1,900,000 yearly for life, but refused to repeal the Test Act.

II. *The Two Rebellions, May-July 1685:*

promoted by Whig exiles in Holland.

- i. **Argyll's Rising in W. Scotland (May-June)**—where, landing from Holland, he proclaimed Monmouth as James VII of Scotland. Captured in June and executed.
- ii. **Monmouth's Rebellion in S.W. England (June-July)**—where, also landing from Holland, he declared himself lawful king, and marched north to Bristol. He was defeated at **Sedgemoor (July)**, captured in the New Forest, and executed in London.
- iii. **James's ruthlessness to Monmouth's followers:** they were brutally hunted down by **Colonel Kirke's** troops (his 'Lambs'), and hanged or transported by Chief Justice Jeffreys in his 'Bloody Assize'.
- iv. **Effects on James of his success**—to strengthen his power, and to embolden him to begin using his prerogative gradually to restore Romanism.

Note.—In October 1685 *Louis XIV* revoked the *Edict of Nantes* (*antea*, p. 152). *Results:* (1) Great loss to France by the expulsion of over 400,000 Huguenots, mostly skilled and middle-class artisans. Many of them settled in England. (2) English Churchmen and Protestant Nonconformists were roused to a common sympathy with their fellow-Protestant exiles, whom they welcomed to England. (3) James, ignoring this, was foolishly incited to follow *Louis XIV's* lead at once in the cause of Romanism.

B. IMMEDIATE CAUSES LEADING TO THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION, October 1685-July 1688.

I. *James's despotic Use of the Prerogative, 1685-6.*

- i. **New regiments raised**—and Catholic officers appointed, September-October 1685, in order to have a standing army both larger and more loyal to his aims.
- ii. **Parliament prorogued, November 1685**—because the members denounced his use of the dispensing power to appoint Catholic officers.
- iii. **The Bench controlled in Hales's Case, June 1686.**

The judges decided that the Crown could dispense with the law in particular cases.

- iv. **A Court of Ecclesiastical Commission then established, July 1686**—under Chief Justice Jeffreys—to silence clerical opposition, and to Romanize the Church. Compton, Bishop of London, was suspended.

- v. **An armed camp formed on Hounslow Heath** (July) to overawe London.

II. *James's Catholic efforts in Scotland and Ireland, 1686-7.*

- i. **All anti-Catholic laws in Scotland annulled by decree, 1686**—both Episcopalians and Presbyterians being thus set against James.
- ii. **The Irish government placed under Catholics, 1686-7.** (1) The Earl of Tyrconnel, a dissolute Catholic, was first made general of the Irish army, which he filled with Catholic officers and privates, and (2) he was then made Lord-Lieutenant, with Catholic officials, instead of Clarendon, James's brother-in-law.

III. *Formation of a chiefly Catholic Ministry in England, 1687.*

- i. **Dismissal of Rochester**, his younger brother-in-law, from the Treasury, as also of other ministers; and appointment of Catholics in their places. Sunderland saved his place by apostasy.
- ii. **Apparent triumph of James**—but his elation ill founded *because of*:—
 - (1) the anger against his measures, spreading among all classes; (2) the lesson, taught by the exiled Huguenots in England, of the need of united action being taken against him by all sections of Protestants.

IV. *James's First Declaration of Indulgence and Attack on the Universities, 1687.*

- i. **The Declaration issued, April 1687**—suspending all laws against both Catholics and Dissenters.

Results—increased anger amongst Episcopalians, and refusal of most Protestant Dissenters to be won over by such abuse of the royal prerogative.

- ii. **Efforts to Romanize the Universities.** 1. In July 1686 James had appointed Massey, a Papist, to be Dean of Christ Church, *Oxford*.
2. In May 1687 he deprived Vice-Chancellor Pechell, of *Cambridge*, of his office for refusing a degree to a monk; and in June he expelled the Fellows of Magdalen College, *Oxford*, for rejecting a Catholic President, Dr. Parker.

Note.—The Whig leaders and others, alarmed by James's actions, now began secretly to correspond with **William of Orange**, to secure his leadership if necessary.

V. *James's high-handed treatment of Parliament, 1687.*

- i. **Dissolution of his only Parliament, July**—after repeated prorogations to prevent it interfering with his actions.
- ii. **His attempts to pack another Parliament**—by remodelling the corporations afresh (*antea*, p. 194), and coercing the lord-lieutenants of counties. His attempts failed.

VI. *The final Events leading to the Revolution, April-June 1688.*

- i. **The Second Declaration of Indulgence issued, April 1688**—with a command to have it read in every church on two consecutive Sundays.

Seven Bishops (Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishops of *St. Asaph*, *Bath and Wells*, *Bristol*, *Chichester*, *Ely*, and *Peterborough*) petitioned James against the Indulgence. On June 8 he committed them to the Tower for trial.

- ii. **Trial of the Seven Bishops**—on a charge of libelling the king by petition (June 29-30). They were acquitted by a London jury amid general rejoicings.
- iii. **James's son born (June 10)**—Prince James Edward (the Old Pretender).

C. **THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION, July 1688-January 1689.**I. *The Invasion of England by William of Orange, 1688.*

- i. **The Invitation**, asking William to come to England with an armed force—signed by **Bishop Compton**; Earls of **Danby**, **Devonshire**, **Shrewsbury**; **Lord Lumley**; **Admiral Edward Russell**; and **Henry Sidney**.

- ii. **The difficulties in William's way opportunely removed—**

- (1) James alienated his English army by his open distrust of officers and men; (2) Louis XIV turned the Dutch in William's favour by stopping part of the Dutch trade with France; (3) James offended Louis by refusing his offer of a fleet in his defence.

Note.—James endeavoured to conciliate his subjects too late by nullifying some of his recent proceedings.

- iii. **Landing of William in Torbay, November 5, 1688**, and advance on London. James assembled his army at Salisbury to oppose him; but so many deserted him—led by **Lord Churchill** and his own daughter, Princess Anne—that he dared not fight.
- iv. **Flight of James (December 23) to France**—to the protection of Louis XIV.

II. Achievement of 'The Glorious Revolution', December 23, 1688–February 13, 1689.

- i. **A Convention Parliament, January 22**—summoned by William on the advice of leading men.
- ii. **Resolution declaring the Throne vacant**—framed by the Commons to satisfy Whigs, Churchmen, and Tories.

It was accepted by the Lords after William had refused to be merely regent for his wife.

- iii. **The Declaration of Rights (February 13)** then passed by the Convention.

After reciting James's illegal acts, and declaring the rights of people and Parliament, it offered the Crown to William and Mary, which they accepted.

Note.—This Declaration was on October 25, 1689, embodied in Parliament in the **Bill of Rights** with certain alterations and additions (see *postea*, p. 205).

- iv. **Accession of William III and Mary II** on February 13, 1689.

III. Character and Results of the Revolution of 1688.

- i. **Its character.** It was (1) *a national movement* to secure both the Protestantism of England and the rights and liberties of its people against the attacks of a despotic, Catholic king who was supported by France; (2) effected by the union of Tories and Whigs, Churchmen and Dissenters, and therefore *bloodless*.
- ii. **Results.**
 1. *Constitutional.* (1) Final supremacy of Parliament and Law in the long struggle against King and Prerogative. (2) Beginning of parliamentary government through *the Ministry, which now became responsible to Parliament instead of to King*. (3) Consequent development of the House of Commons, which controlled finances, and of **the Cabinet System**. But, owing to the unrepresentative character of the Commons till the Reform period of the nineteenth century, the government remained a parliamentary oligarchy chosen mainly from the aristocracy.
 2. *General.* (1) Development of England's commercial and maritime greatness. (2) Growth of religious toleration. (3) *In Scotland*: (a) final establishment of Presbyterianism as the national religion, and (b) the way cleared for the Act of Union of 1707. (4) *In Ireland*: (a) an increase in the unjust penal laws against Catholics, and (b) consequent continuation of disorder and rebellion.
 3. *Foreign.* A settled hostility between England and France, lasting till 1815, during which England (1) strove to maintain the balance of power in Europe, and (2) achieved its own colonial and maritime supremacy.

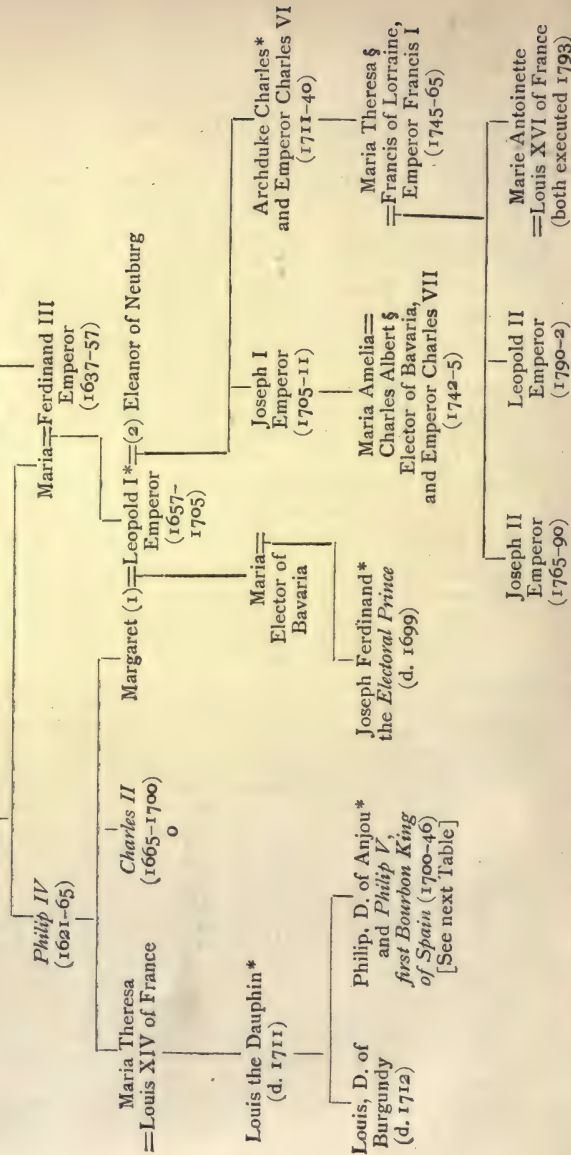
1) THE HAPSBURG EMPEROBS AND SPANISH KINGS;

SPAIN (refer Table, *antea*, p. 121).

Philip III (Hapsburg)
(1598-1621)

AUSTRIA (refer Table, *antea*, p. 121).

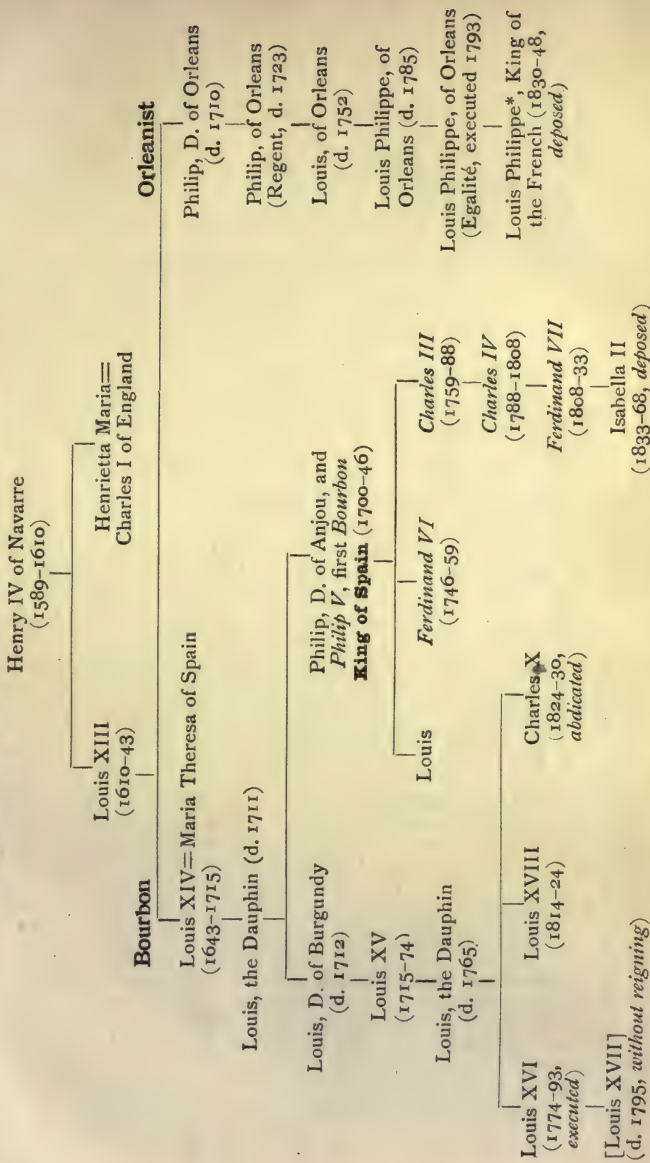
Ferdinand II (*Hapsburg*)
Emperor (1619-37)



Note.—Kings of Spain in *Italics*. Claimants to Spanish throne *. Claimants to Austrian throne §.

TABLE TO SHOW:—

- (1) THE BOURBON AND ORLEANS KINGS OF FRANCE (1589-1848);
 (2) THE BOURBON KINGS OF SPAIN (1700-1868).



Note.—Bourbon Kings of Spain in *Italics*. Orleanist King of France*.

BOOK VIII

THE THIRD PERIOD OF MODERN ENGLAND: DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY GOVERNMENT, AND OF ANGLO-FRENCH COLONIAL AND MARITIME RIVALRY, 1689-1760

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK VIII

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Increased intermingling of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish (Lowlanders chiefly) with English, through increase of commercial and political intercourse.

2. Increased flow of British to the colonies in America.

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land.** (1) *Revival of enclosures by Act of Parliament*, and accumulation of lands under fewer owners. (2) *Beginning of the Agricultural Revolution* with the eighteenth century, by better systems of farming and cattle-breeding, and by improved machinery [ch. IV, p. 230].

2. **Society.** (1) Growth in wealth and power of *the aristocracy and land-owning class*, owing to the Enclosure Acts and the Agrarian Revolution. (2) Continued increase of *middle classes* in number, wealth, and influence, owing to: (a) the Agricultural Revolution, and (b) the development of trade and industries; but their influence largely social, very slightly political. (3) Limited improvement in the condition of the *working classes* owing to the same causes. (4) Spread of sympathy with the poor and distressed, owing to the revival of religious feeling [ch. IV, p. 230]; but see 3 (3) below.

3. **Commerce and Industries.** (1) *Their rapid increase*, owing to (a) the Agricultural Revolution, (b) new systems of national finance and of banking [ch. I, p. 208], (c) extension of *colonial trade* [ch. II, p. 219], (d) Walpole's financial and peace policy [ch. III, pp. 226, 227, 228; ch. IV, pp. 230, 231]. (2) French and Spanish commercial rivalry with England [ch. I, p. 210; ch. II, pp. 215, 220; ch. III, p. 228; ch. IV, pp. 230, 231]. (3) Acquisition of sole *right to slave-trade* with Spanish colonies [ch. II, p. 219].

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) Further spread of philosophy, science, and the arts. (2) Development of *prose-writing* (especially the essay) and of 'classical' poetry; and rise of the *modern character-novel*. (3) Final establishment of *the liberty of the Press* [ch. I, p. 209], and rapid development of *newspapers and magazines* [ch. II, pp. 219, 221; ch. III, p. 228].

5. **Economic and social measures** [ch. I, pp. 208, 209; ch. II, pp. 216, 220; ch. III, pp. 224, 226, 227; ch. IV, pp. 230, 234].

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Great Britain finally declared Protestant** [ch. I, pp. 205, 212].
2. **Gradual growth of toleration for Protestant Dissenters** [ch. I, p. 205; ch. III, p. 226; ch. IV, p. 230].
3. **Persecution of Roman Catholics** [ch. I, pp. 207, 211; ch. II, p. 221; ch. III, p. 227].
4. **Temporary revival of the High Church party under Anne** [ch. II, pp. 218, 220, 221].
5. **Decline of religious life in England** under the Whig bishops [ch. III, p. 223; ch. IV, p. 230].
6. **The Methodist Revival** and its results [ch. IV, p. 230].

(iv) POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Political results of the supremacy of Parliament.** (1) *Rise to chief power of the aristocracy and landed interests*; (2) Growth of two political parties, *Tory and Whig*, and their struggles for control of government [ch. I, pp. 209, 210, 211-12; ch. II, pp. 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221]. (3) *The Whig Supremacy* [ch. III, pp. 223, 225, 227; ch. IV, pp. 232, 233, 234, 235-6].

2. **Full incorporation of Scotland with England** [ch. II, p. 216].

3. **Colonial expansion:** (1) by conquest [ch. I, p. 210; ch. II, p. 219; ch. IV, pp. 236-7]; (2) by settlement [Georgia 1733].

4. **Dynastic plots and rebellions** [ch. I, pp. 206-7, 208, 209; ch. II, p. 220; ch. III, pp. 224, 225, 226, 227; ch. IV, p. 233].

5. **Political party-measures in Parliament** [ch. I, p. 212; ch. II, pp. 214, 218, 220; ch. III, pp. 223-4, 226].

6. **Foreign relations:** their scope extended to Asia and America. (1) *Maintenance of the Balance of Power* (a) by diplomacy [ch. I, pp. 211, 212; ch. III, pp. 225, 228, 229; ch. IV, p. 229]; (b) by war with France and alliance with other states [ch. I, pp. 204, 206-8, 210; ch. II, pp. 215, 217, 218, 219-20; ch. IV, pp. 235-8]; (c) by war with Spain, and alliance with France [ch. III, pp. 225, 228]; (d) by war with France and Spain, and alliance with Austria [ch. IV, pp. 232-4]. (2) *Foreign relations due to the Hanoverian Succession* [ch. III, pp. 225-6]. (3) *Trade war with Spain* [ch. IV, pp. 231-2]. (4) *The Second Hundred Years' War with France* (trade and colonial) [ch. I, pp. 204-10; ch. II, pp. 214-20; ch. IV, pp. 232-4, 235-7; and see further Book IX].

(v) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: resulting from the Revolution of 1688.

1. **Final supremacy of Parliament, with complete control over:** (1) the national revenue and expenditure [ch. I, pp. 205, 208; ch. III, pp. 226, 227; ch. IV, p. 230]; (2) the army [ch. I, pp. 205, 210]; (3) the Church [ch. I, p. 205; ch. II, p. 220; ch. III, pp. 224, 226]; (4) the laws and justice [ch. I, pp. 205, 212]; (5) the Crown [ch. I, pp. 205, 212]; (6) Scotland [ch. II, pp. 216, 221]; (7) the frequency and duration of Parliament [ch. I, pp. 205, 208; ch. III, p. 224].

2. **Rise and growth of Party Government, and the Cabinet System** [ch. I, pp. 209, 210, 213; ch. II, pp. 214, 217-18, 219, 221; ch. III, pp. 223, 227, 228; ch. IV, pp. 232, 238].

3. **Beginning of ministerial control over foreign policy** [ch. II, pp. 214, 218, 219; ch. III, pp. 224, 225, 226-7; ch. IV, p. 229].
4. **Ministerial corruption of Parliament** [ch. III, p. 227].
5. **Constitutional incorporation of Scotland with England** [ch. II, p. 216].
6. **Growth of the standing army** [ch. I, pp. 205, 212; ch. IV, pp. 235-6].
7. **Growth of the navy** [ch. I, pp. 207, 208; ch. III, p. 225; ch. IV, pp. 231, 234, 235, 237].

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM III, 1689-1702, AND MARY II, 1689-1694

- (i) **PERSONAL NOTE ON WILLIAM III.** The *great-grandson* of William the Silent, founder of the Dutch Republic. *Son* of William II, Prince of Orange (Stadtholder of Holland), and of Mary, elder daughter of Charles I. *Born* at The Hague, November 4, 1650; elected Stadtholder, July 1672. *Married* Princess Mary, elder daughter of James II by his first wife, Anne Hyde.
- (ii) **HIS CHARACTER.** Suffering from chronic ill-health, his manner was cold, gloomy, and austere. His demeanour, foreign origin, and foreign favourites made him unpopular. But by his great ability, diplomatic skill, courage, and persistence of purpose, he became England's greatest *king* since Henry VIII.
- (iii) **POLICY.** (1) *Domestic*—to settle the strife of parties in England and unite them in support of (2) his *foreign* policy: (a) continued resistance to Louis XIV's aggression, and (b) the maintenance of the Protestantism of northern Europe.

A. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THREE KINGDOMS, 1689-91.

I. *The War with France (1689-97): First Period, 1689-91.*

- i. **Beginning of the War**—by England joining the *League of Augsburg*, first formed by William in 1686 to oppose Louis XIV's ambitious designs. It consisted of Holland, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and now England. War was declared against France, May 1689.
- ii. **Causes of the War:** (1) the aggressions of Louis XIV against neighbouring states, and the consequent danger to the balance of power in western Europe; (2) the reception of, and aid given to, James II by Louis.

Note.—Before William could go to lead the allied forces on the Continent, he had to secure the settlement of his new kingdom. The

suppression of the Irish rebellion, 1689-91, was part of the war with France.

II. *The Settlement of England, 1689-91.*

i. **The new Ministry**—chosen from both parties :—

Tories—*Danby* (made Marquis of Carmarthen and, later, Duke of Leeds), *Earls of Nottingham* and *Godolphin*; **Whigs**—*Earls of Shrewsbury* and *Halifax* ('The Trimmer'), *Admirals Russell* and *Herbert*. William managed foreign affairs himself, and he gave the chief posts of his household to trusted Dutch friends—*Bentinck* (made *Earl of Portland*), *Keppel* (*Earl of Albemarle*), and others.

ii. **William's First Parliament, February 1689-January 1690:** was the Convention legalized.

1. **The King's ordinary revenue settled, 1689:** (1) £500,000 as a personal revenue; (2) £700,000 appropriated to the *King's Civil List*, i. e. to pay ministers, royal household, pensions, &c.; (3) all extraordinary expenses to be met by special grants.

Note.—Parliament thus gained firm control over the expenditure of the Crown, and from this time a similar settlement was made for every monarch.

2. **A Standing Army arranged for by the Mutiny Act (March 1689)**—which allowed William to maintain courts-martial for his army *for one year only*.

Note.—The Mutiny Act, or Army Act, has been renewed yearly ever since, so that the king may have a standing army; *but incidentally it has also secured the assembly of Parliament at least once a year.*

3. **New oaths of allegiance and supremacy** imposed on all office-holders in Church and State. Archbishop Sancroft and over 300 other clergy refused, and resigned. They were known as the party of **Non-jurors**.
4. **The Toleration Act passed, May 1689**—granting a limited toleration to *Protestant Dissenters*, by relieving them from penalties for holding religious meetings of their own. *The beginning of building Nonconformist 'meeting-houses' and chapels dates from this time.*
5. **The Laws and Succession settled by the BILL OF RIGHTS, October 1689**—which was the Declaration of Rights made into a statute with slight amendments :—

- a. It recited all the arbitrary and illegal acts of James II.
- b. It asserted the ancient rights of the People and Parliament of England :—

- (1) *It declared to be illegal* all assertions of the Crown's dispensing and suspending powers, all courts such as the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, the levying of taxes, and the keeping of a standing army, without consent of Parliament.

- (2) *It claimed for the **People*** the right to petition the king.
- (3) *It claimed for the **Parliament*** freedom of elections and of speech.
- c. (1) *It settled the **Crown*** first on William and Mary, then on Mary's heirs, then on Anne and her heirs, then on William's heirs. [But see also the Act of Settlement, 1701.]

(2) It declared all Papists, or any who should marry Papists, incapable of succeeding to the English throne.

Note.—The Bill of Rights was *the third great charter of English liberties* (refer *antea*, p. 167).

- 6. Parliament dissolved, January 1690—owing to the outbreak of quarrels between the two parties over an Act of Indemnity and other matters.

- ii. **William's Second Parliament (March 1690–September 1695)**—which proved more Tory. To prevent a renewal of party quarrels William issued an *Act of Grace*, pardoning all political offenders.

III. *The Settlement of Scotland, 1689–91.*

- i. **Proceedings of the Scots Convention Parliament, March–April 1689**—called by William. 1. James declared to have *forfeited* the Crown, which was offered to, and accepted by, William and Mary.
- 2. **The Scottish Claim of Right (May)**—similar to the Bill of Rights, but demanding also Presbyterianism. It was assented to by William and Mary.
- ii. **Rebellion of Dundee (Claverhouse)**, supported by Episcopalians and Highlanders. He defeated General Mackay at **Killiecrankie**, July 1689, but was killed; and the Highlanders retreated.
- iii. **Pacification of the Highlands, 1691**—by building Fort William, bribing the chiefs, and proclaiming a general pardon. **Massacre of Glencoe**, February 1694, when the Macdonald clan was nearly annihilated.

IV. *Resistance to the Revolution in Ireland, March 1689–91.*

- i. **James in Ireland, 1689–90.** 1. His landing at **Kinsale**, March 1689, with a small French force. Joined by Tyrconnel and the Irish Catholics.
- 2. **His Irish Parliament** called, May 1689—largely Catholic with secret aims of Irish independence. An Act of Attainder passed against William's Irish supporters.
- 3. **His Siege of Londonderry** (April 16–July 30, 1689)—relieved by sea after 105 days.
- 4. The rebels defeated at **Newtown Butler** (August) by the Protestants of Enniskillen.

5. General Schomberg sent to Ireland (August) with an English army. His failure.
6. William's arrival at Carrickfergus (June 1690), and march on Dublin.
7. William's victory at **The Boyne, July 1, 1690**, where James met him with fresh French auxiliaries under Count Lauzun. Schomberg slain.

Note.—Not only Ireland, but also England was saved by this victory, which largely nullified the influence of the previous day's French naval victory (*below*).

8. Flight of James to France.
- ii. **French victory off Beachy Head, June 30**—The day before The Boyne.

A fleet under *Tourville* defeated the combined English and Dutch fleets under Lord Torrington (formerly Herbert) owing to the latter's carelessness.

Results: (1) The French held command of Channel and ravaged coast of Devon. (2) James's English sympathizers were alienated from him by fear of French invasion.

iii. Campaigns in the west and south of Ireland, 1690-1.

1. **1690:** William and the Earl of Marlborough (Churchill) subdued the south, and the king returned to England in September.
2. **1691:** Final campaign under Ginkel, William's Dutch general. (1) **Athlone** captured (July); (2) the French general St. Ruth defeated and slain at **Aughrim** (Connaught); (3) **Limerick** captured, and the rebellion ended by—**The Treaty of Limerick, October 1691**. In this Ginkel promised:—

- (a) pardon to all rebels taking oath of allegiance; (b) Catholics to have liberties as under Charles II; (c) all Irish soldiers wishing it, to be allowed to go to France.

Note.—Several thousand Irishmen entered the French army; but, when the new Irish Parliament met, being Protestant it rejected the clause regarding the Catholics.

- iv. **Results of Irish Rebellion:**—(1) The Protestant ascendancy restored, and many estates of Catholics confiscated. (2) During the next twenty years the English and Irish Parliaments imposed on the Papists new penalties and restrictions from which they were not freed fully till 1829.

B. THE FRENCH WAR AND HOME EVENTS, 1691-7.

I. *Second Period of the War, 1691-4 (to Queen Mary's death).*

- i. William's arrival in Flanders, March 1691—followed by French capture of **Mons**.

ii. **Plots and intrigues in England**—encouraged by William's absence and the fall of Mons.

1. Failure of **Preston's** and other plots—Preston and other Tories being pardoned.
2. Treason of William's ministers—Godolphin, Carmarthen, Shrewsbury, and Russell, who were corresponding secretly with James for his return.
3. Marlborough's dismissal, January 1692, for plotting to secure Princess Anne's succession.

iii. **New Plot for Invasion of England** by Louis XIV and James. It was thwarted by Queen Mary's publication of her father's letter, and by her appeal to Admiral Russell's sense of duty. Russell defeated Tourville **off Cape La Hogue, May 19, 1692**—the greatest naval victory between 1588 and 1805.

Results: (1) Final overthrow of Jacobite hopes of restoring James, and (2) establishment of England's supremacy over the western seas.

iv. **French superiority on land** maintained by: (1) capture of **Namur**, June 1692, (2) defeats of William at **Steinkirk** (August) and **Landen** (July 1693).

v. **Two English reverses at sea:** (1) June 1693, the outgoing Smyrna merchant fleet captured by Tourville **off Cape St. Vincent**. (2) June 1694, an English attack on **Brest** defeated, owing to Marlborough giving treacherous information to the French.

II. *Home Events to Queen Mary's Death, 1692-4: Important Changes.*

- i. **The land revalued and the land-tax reorganized, 1692**—under the supervision of **Montagu**, a young Whig financier.
- ii. **The National Debt founded, 1693**—in a loan raised by Montagu *on the security of the government (not of the king as always before)*.
- iii. **The Bank of England founded, 1694**—by Montagu (on the advice of Paterson, a Scottish banker) as a result of a new loan.

Note.—The establishment of the National Debt and Bank of England brought increased security to the government through the natural support of all subscribers to the loans.

iv. **A new Triennial Act passed, November 1694**—limiting Parliament's duration to three years, instead of its depending on the king's arbitrary will.

v. **Death of Queen Mary, December 28, 1694**—from small-pox.

Political results:—(1) Many High Churchmen and Tories ceased to support William, and Jacobite intrigues were renewed. (2) William was driven to closer reliance on the Whigs.

III. *Home Events under the First All-Whig Ministry, the Junto, 1695-7.*

i. Commencement of Party Government and the Cabinet System by the Junto (1695-9).

1. *Origin* in (1) the disunion and quarrels of Ministers, (2) William's closer alliance with Whigs after Mary's death, and (3) Sunderland's advice (1693) to choose his ministers entirely from the party strongest in the Commons—just then the Whigs.

2. **The Junto** gradually formed of leading Whigs, 1693-5, as posts became vacant.

(1) *Somers* made Lord Keeper of Seal, 1693; (2) *Montagu*, Chancellor of Exchequer, 1694; (3) *Russell* (victor of La Hogue), and (4) *Thomas Wharton*, 1695.

3. From 1695-9 the Junto supreme in the Ministry (though the latter not wholly Whig till 1697), thus beginning the modern systems of Party Government and the Cabinet. These were not *regularly* established, however, till after 1714.

ii. Press Censorship finally abandoned, 1695—by lapse of the Act of 1685.

iii. William's Third Parliament, November 1695-December 1698.

1. Second Parliament dissolved after his recapture of Namur (*below*), because its strong Tory minority persistently opposed the war.

2. Third Parliament assembled, November 1695—with much larger Whig majority.

3. **The Treason-Trials Act passed**, 1696, making trials for treason more just.

4. **The Currency reformed** by *Montagu* and *Sir Isaac Newton*, 1696.

iv. **Failure of Harley's Tory Land-Bank Scheme, 1696**—promoted to rival the Bank of England. The county gentlemen, on whom it depended, refused to adopt it.

v. **Further Jacobite Plots, 1696.** 1. The Duke of Berwick's invasion scheme, to aid a Jacobite rising which failed.

2. **Barclay's Plot** to assassinate William. It was discovered, and the plotters executed.

3. **The Loyal Association** (April)—formed to defend William and the Protestant succession. It was made compulsory by Parliament upon all officials.

vi. **The Whig Triumph, 1697**—the last Tory minister, Godolphin, then retiring, and William being once more popular.

IV. *Third and closing Period of the War, 1695-7.*

i. **William's recapture of Namur, and defeat of French, September 1695.** This proved the turning-point of the war. Negotiations soon followed.

ii. **The Peace of Ryswick, October 1697.**

1. *Between Great Britain and France*:—(1) William III to be recognized as king of Great Britain and Ireland. (2) Mutual restoration of conquests in America to be made.

2. *Between the other allies and France*:—(1) all acquisitions by France since 1678 to be restored, except Strassburg and part of Alsace; (2) the chief frontier-fortresses between France and Flanders to be under Dutch control.

iii. **Chief results of the War of the Grand Alliance:—**

1. *On England.* (1) The country secured from invasion, and the Protestant succession saved. (2) England's European position established as leader against French aggression. (3) Beginning, in this war, of the long colonial and maritime struggle between England and France in America—extended afterwards to India and elsewhere. The struggle is known as '**The Second Hundred Years' War**' (1689-1815).

2. *On France.* (1) The French treasury exhausted, and the burden of taxation greatly increased. (2) Ill-feeling increased between the Empire and France over Alsace. (3) Louis XIV's determination strengthened to gain control over Spain and Spanish Netherlands.

C. TORY REACTION, AND THE RENEWAL OF FOREIGN DIFFICULTIES, 1697-1702.

I. *Home Events until the Duke of Gloucester's Death, December 1697-July 1700.*

i. **Parliament's efforts at retrenchment—due to**

(1) the closing of the war, and the continued financial strain: the National Debt was already seventeen million pounds; (2) repugnance to a standing army among both Tories and Whigs. The army was reduced, January 1698, from 80,000 to 10,000 men; but William's civil list was increased to reassure him.

ii. **William's Fourth Parliament, December 1698-December 1700:** in which was a majority of Tories, denoting a Tory reaction.

1. The army further reduced to 7,000—causing the dismissal of William's guards. *William was with difficulty persuaded by the Whigs to remain in England.*

2. **Break-up of Whig Junto, 1699—caused** (1) by strong Tory attacks on Russell (now Lord Orford) and Montagu for their administration; (2) by the appointment of a Commission to inquire into Irish lands. Tories were appointed in place of Orford and Montagu (the latter made Earl of Halifax).

Note.—Savile, Marquis of Halifax ('The Trimmer') had died without heir, 1695.

3. **The Anti-Catholic Act, 1700**—passed to check the growth of Popery both in England and Ireland.

iii. **Death of the Duke of Gloucester, July 1700**, aged eleven—the last surviving child of Princess Anne (see III, ii, *below*).

II. *Foreign Affairs: Failure of both Spanish Partition Treaties, 1698–1700.*

- i. **The Spanish Succession difficulty, 1697**—due to the approaching death of Charles II of Spain, who was without direct heir to his dominions in Europe, America, and Asia. Three claimants to throne (Tables, *antea*, pp. 200, 201):—

1. *The Dauphin of France*, son of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa, Charles's elder sister.
2. *The Electoral Prince of Bavaria*, grandson of the Emperor Leopold I and Margaret, younger sister of Charles.
3. *The Emperor Leopold I himself*, son of Maria, elder aunt of Charles.

Note.—The nearest heir by blood was the Dauphin; but both his mother and her sister Margaret had renounced all claim to the Spanish throne on their marriage. Leopold's mother had made no renunciation.

- ii. **The First Partition Treaty, October 1698**—secretly negotiated by William III to prevent the European balance of power from being upset. Signed at the Hague on behalf of England, France, and Holland. *Terms:* (1) The Electoral Prince to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Colonies; (2) the Dauphin, Naples and Sicily; (3) Leopold, Milan. But the Electoral Prince's death in 1699 ended this arrangement.

- iii. **The Second (Secret) Partition Treaty, March 1700.** *Terms:* (1) The **Archduke Charles**, Leopold's second son, to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Colonies; (2) the **Dauphin**, Guipuzcoa (in N. Spain), and all Spanish dominions in Italy.

Note.—When news of the second treaty leaked out, the Spanish people were highly indignant at an arrangement made without their being consulted.

- iv. **Death of Charles II, October 1700**, leaving all his dominions by will to Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son. This was due to the private influence of Louis XIV, who gleefully accepted the will in behalf of his grandson.

III. *William's Fifth Parliament (largely Tory), December 1700–January 1702.*

- i. **The Fourth Parliament dissolved, December 1700**—in hope of gaining one more favourable; *but the new one had a still larger Tory majority.*

- ii. **The Act of Settlement or Succession, June 1701**—made necessary by the death of Duke of Gloucester (*above*).

Chief provisions :—1. **Settlement of Crown.** After Anne's death to go to **Sophia, Electress of Hanover** (James I's granddaughter), and her heirs *being Protestant*.

Note.—Others nearer the throne were set aside as Catholics (*antea*, p. 206).

2. **Further checks on Royal Power**—largely due to William's foreign origin :—

- (1) The Sovereign not to leave the kingdom, nor involve it in war for his continental possessions, without consent of Parliament ;
- (2) affairs of state to be transacted in the Privy Council, not in secret with only some of the ministers (repealed 1705) ;
- (3) foreigners not to sit in Parliament or Privy Council, nor hold Crown offices ;
- (4) no place-holder nor pensioner to sit in the Commons ;
- (5) Judges to hold office during good behaviour, and to be removable only by Parliament.

Note.—The check concerning judges is the only one still operative.

- iii. **Failure of Tory impeachment of Whig ex-ministers, June 1701.**

In accordance with check (2) above, four of the late Whig ministers were impeached for their share in the secret Second Partition Treaty, but were acquitted by the Whig majority in the Lords.

- iv. **Beginning of reaction against Tories** shown by—

- (1) *The Kentish Petition*, asking Parliament to cease wrangling and support the king ; (2) the *Legion Memorial*, a petition drawn up by **Daniel Defoe** to the same purport.

IV. *Renewed Approach of War, 1701-2. William's Death, 1702.*

- i. **Louis XIV's seizure of the Netherlands frontier-fortresses** from Dutch control, 1701.
- ii. **William's formation of new Grand Alliance** against France, September 1701—between England, Holland, and the Empire.
- iii. **Death of James II, September 1701**: followed by Louis XIV's recognition of his son as James III, king of England. This becoming known, William was once more popular. He dissolved Parliament and called another.
- iv. **William's Sixth and Last Parliament, January-March 1702**—overwhelmingly favourable to him, though the Whigs had only a small majority in it.
 - (1) It voted abundant supplies, enabling him to increase his army and

prepare for war, (2) compelled all office-holders to abjure the Stuarts.

- v. **Death of William III, March 8, 1702**—the result of a fall from his horse.

V. Chief Features of the Reign.

- i. **Political and Constitutional.** (1) Definite commencement of the 'reign of Parliament' through ministries responsible to it. (2) Definite commencement—in the Whig Junto—of the Party Government and Cabinet Systems. (3) Settlement of the Law by the Bill of Rights —'the third great charter of English liberties'. (4) Frequent Parliaments and yearly sessions secured by the Triennial and Mutiny Acts. (5) Permanent control by Parliament over a standing army, through the Mutiny Act. (6) Permanent control by the Commons over national finances, through the establishment of annual grants, appropriation of supplies, and audit of accounts. (7) Establishment of a new system of state finance through the creation of a National Debt based on the national credit.
- ii. **Religious.** (1) Acceptance of the *principle* of toleration by the Toleration Act. (2) Final establishment of Protestantism and the Protestant succession in Great Britain. (3) *In Scotland*, final establishment of Presbyterianism as the national religion. (4) *In Ireland*, renewal of persecution of Catholics through severely restrictive penal laws.
- iii. **Foreign.** (1) England liberated from its subserviency to France, and placed at the head of a grand coalition of continental powers against Louis XIV. (2) Supremacy of the western seas gained by England at La Hogue. (3) Beginning of the 'Second Hundred Years' War' against France (1689-1815), and of the struggle for colonial possessions in America and India.

CHAPTER II

ANNE, 1702-1714

- (i) **CHARACTER OF ANNE.** In disposition she was generous, affectionate, and easy-going; in intellect, of moderate mental powers, rather narrow-minded, and often prejudiced. Her two most marked characteristics were her deep devotion to the Church of England, and her intimate friendship with two women favourites—*Sarah Jennings* (Marlborough's wife), and later *Mrs. Masham*.
 - (ii) **POLICY.** In foreign affairs, which dominated the whole reign, her policy was—during Marlborough's influence over her—to continue William III's struggle against Louis XIV. At home, her strong support of the Church made her anti-Nonconformist and anti-Whig.
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A. THE ASCENDENCY OF MARLBOROUGH, 1702-10.

A₁. MARLBOROUGH AND THE TORIES, 1702-5.I. *Marlborough's Position, Character, and Policy.*

- i. Through the influence of his wife upon Queen Anne Marlborough was until 1710 almost all-powerful in England.
- ii. In character he was insincere, self-seeking, and ambitious for power, military glory, and wealth. Yet he proved not only the greatest general of his age, but also a most able diplomatist and statesman.
- iii. His policy was to have a strong government at home, in order to prosecute vigorously William III's policy of maintaining the Grand Alliance and of crushing France by armies on the Continent.

II. *Anne's First Ministry and Parliament, 1702-5.*

i. A Tory majority in Ministry and Parliament—due to Anne's anti-Whiggism.

1. William's Whig majority changed for a largely Tory one, in which *Marlborough* became military Commander-in-Chief and Foreign Minister, with *Godolphin* as Lord-Treasurer. Other Tories and some Whigs were put in minor posts.

2. A new Parliament then elected with a Tory majority.

Note.—Party quarrels began at once, and continued to be bitter throughout the reign.

ii. War declared against France, May 1702—by England and her allies.

iii. Quarrel between Tory Commons and Whig Lords, 1702-5, over—

- (1) the *Aylesbury Election Petition*, in which the Lords claimed right of final decision on election disputes; and (2) the Tory bill against *Occasional Conformity*, which the Commons passed, but the Lords thrice rejected during 1702-4 (*postea*, p. 220).

Results: (1) Resignation of the High Tory leaders—*Rochester* (1703) and *Nottingham* (1704); and (2) appointment of two moderate Tories—**Robert Harley** and **Henry St. John**—in their places.

iv. The Queen Anne's Bounty Fund formed, 1704—by Anne, from first-fruits and tithes, to assist the clergy in poor livings.

v. Quarrel between the Scottish and English Parliaments, 1703-5: over attempts to rearrange the relations of the two countries (*postea*, A₂ I).

III. *War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13): First Period, 1702-5.*

i. **The Grand Alliance against France**—which consisted of (1) England, (2) Holland, (3) the Empire, (4) most of the German states, including Brandenburg (*whose Elector, Frederick, was induced by the Emperor to join by the Imperial consent to his new title of King of Prussia*), (5) Savoy, (6) Portugal (won over, 1703, by the *Methuen Treaty* with England). Louis XIV bribed the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to join France.

ii. **Causes of the War.** (1) Louis XIV's violation of the Second Partition Treaty by accepting the Spanish throne for his grandson Philip of Anjou.

(2) Dread among the allies of consequent French predominance in Europe.

(3) Louis XIV's open acknowledgement of the Pretender as king of England.

(4) The commercial jealousy aroused in England by Spain granting to France certain trading advantages in the Franco-Spanish Asiento Treaty, August 1701.

(5) The French seizure of the barrier-fortresses (*antea*, p. 212).

Note.—Causes (3), (4), and (5) especially influenced England.

iii. **The four military objects of the Allies:** (1) to capture the Flemish frontier-fortresses seized by Louis, and then to invade France; (2) to occupy South Germany and protect Vienna; (3) to effect thence a junction with *Prince Eugene's* Austrian forces from Savoy, and attack France on the east; (4) to seize Spain in behalf of the Archduke Charles.

Note.—There was also fighting between the French and English in N. America.

iv. **Campaigns of 1702-5:** under Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief of allies.

1. **1702:** Venloo and Liège captured by Marlborough (rewarded by dukedom and pension).

2. **1703:** The hostile Electorate of Cologne seized by him.

3. **1704:** Marlborough's march from the Rhine to the Danube.

At **Blenheim** (August) the French and Bavarians overwhelmed by Marlborough, and Prince Eugene from Savoy. *Results very important:*—

(1) Vienna saved, and the French driven back over the Rhine.

(2) The Bavarians forced to abandon the French alliance.

(3) Marlborough's position at home greatly strengthened, and in the elections of 1705 a Whig majority returned in favour of the war. Parliament granted him the Woodstock estate, and palace of Blenheim.

Gibraltar captured by Sir G. Rooke.

Fighting renewed in N. America between English and French colonists.

4. **1705.** *In Spain:* (a) Barcelona captured by Earl of Peterborough; and (b) the Archduke proclaimed as Charles III of Spain.

A₂. MARLBOROUGH AND THE COMPOSITE MINISTRY, 1705-8.

I. *The Second Parliament and the Composite Ministry, 1705-8.*

- i. **A Whig majority returned** in the 1705 elections—due to the victory of Blenheim and the divisions among the Tories.
- ii. **A 'Composite' Ministry formed, 1705-6**, by Marlborough and Godolphin, of Whigs (*Duke of Newcastle, Robert Walpole, and Sunderland*) and moderate Tories (*Harley, St. John, and others*). The chief achievement of this ministry was—
- iii. **The Act of Union with Scotland, 1707.**

1. **Events leading to the Union.** (1) *The permanent resistance shown by the Scots* to the subordination of their commercial interests to those of England by the Navigation Acts and other restrictive laws of the English Parliament. (2) *The Scottish Darien Scheme* formed 1695 to colonize the Isthmus of Darien or Panama with Scots, and to capture some of the English trade with the west. It failed in 1699 owing to the pestilential climate and the attacks of jealous Spaniards; but English rivalry was blamed. (3) *Negotiations for a closer union*, begun by William III in 1702 to allay Scottish hostility. They failed, however, in tangible result until 1707.

2. **The Act of Union completed, 1707.** *Chief terms:*

- (1) The united countries to be called **Great Britain**, with the *Union Jack* as the common flag.
- (2) One united Parliament: the Commons to contain 513 English and 45 Scottish members; the Lords, 108 English peers, and 16 Scottish peers elected by the whole body of nobles in Scotland.
- (3) Scotland to retain her own Church and law.
- (4) All taxation, coinage, and trade-rights to be alike for both countries.
- (5) The Scottish national debt and the Darien Company to be paid off and wound up.

3. **Results of the Union—all gains:**

- (1) *Scotland* had new spheres of trade opened up, and her industrial resources developed;
- (2) *England* had the constant danger from Scottish unrest gradually removed;
- (3) *Great Britain* gained by the accession of an immense intellectual,

moral, and military strength to its resources, and by its establishment as a single territorial unit.

4. **The First United Parliament of Great Britain** met October 1707, and after confirming the Act, sat till the next triennial elections, 1708.

II. *Second Period of the War, 1706-8.*

- i. **Campaign of 1706**—a series of triumphs for the allies.
 1. *Netherlands*: Marlborough defeated Villeray at **Ramillies** (May) and controlled the Netherlands.
 2. *Italy*: Eugene defeated the French at **Turin** (September), driving them from Italy.
 3. *Spain*: Allies under Earl of Galway entered Madrid, and proclaimed Charles III.

Note. Louis XIV now made peace overtures; but his terms were rejected.
- ii. **Campaign of 1707.** 1. In *Spain*, the Duke of Berwick (James II's illegitimate son) defeated Galway at **Almanza**, and hemmed Charles in Catalonia. Philip V restored to throne.
2. In *Flanders*, Marlborough vainly sought to bring about a decisive battle. He, however, dissuaded Charles XII of Sweden from allying with France.
- iii. **Campaign of 1708**: further triumphs for the allies.
 1. Admiral Byng drove back the **Pretender's expedition to Scotland** (March).
 2. In *Flanders* Marlborough and Eugene defeated Vendôme at **Oudenarde** (July), and captured **Lille** (December), thus opening a way into France.
 3. General Stanhope captured **Minorca**.

A₃. MARLBOROUGH AND THE ALL-WHIG MINISTRY, 1708-10.

I. *The Complete Ascendency of the Whigs, 1708.*

- i. **Tory intrigues against Whig members of Ministry**—conducted through *Mrs. Masham*, whose cousin, Harley, had introduced her to Anne's favour.
- ii. **Harley's dismissal, February 1708**—forced on the queen by Marlborough and Godolphin. These, when St. John and other Tories had resigned, joined the Whigs entirely.
- iii. **An All-Whig Ministry in power, 1708-10.**

Chief members (besides Marlborough, Godolphin, and Sunderland)—

Somers, Lord President of the Council ; *Orford* (Russell) over the Admiralty ; and *Sir Robert Walpole*, Secretary at War.

II. *Third Period of the War, 1709-II.*

- i. **Second peace negotiations at The Hague, 1709**—broken off by Louis owing to the excessive demands of the allies, influenced by Marlborough.
- ii. **Campaign of 1709.** At **Malplaquet** (September) Marlborough and Eugene defeated Villars, but with losses greater than his. They then captured **Mons**.
- iii. **Third peace negotiations at Gertruydenberg, July 1710**—failed as before.
- iv. **Campaign of 1710.** 1. In *Spain* (1) Stanhope victorious at **Saragossa** and entry of Charles into Madrid (September). (2) Stanhope defeated and captured at **Brihuega** ; (3) Charles defeated at **Villa Viciosa**, and Spain secured to Philip.
2. In *N. France* : **Douay** captured by Marlborough ; but further progress hindered by quarrels among the allies, and by the Tories at home.

III. *The Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell. Fall of the Whigs, 1710.*

- i. **Reaction against the Whigs, 1709-10** : *caused by*
 - (1) increased taxation consequent on the long war, (2) the repeated failure of peace negotiations, (3) Anne's anti-Whig prejudices, (4) the Tory appeal to popular bigotry by the cry of 'the Church in danger' from the Whigs, (5) the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell.
- ii. **Dr. Sacheverell unwisely impeached, 1710**—for preaching two sermons against the Whig government as supporters of Dissent, and for decrying the late Revolution. The impeachment was followed by riots and attacks on Dissenters' chapels.
- iii. **Overthrow of the Whigs**—consequent on the popular reaction. The chief Whig ministers were dismissed by Anne, and Parliament was dissolved (September 1710).

Result—an overwhelming Tory majority, giving the Tories power till Anne's death.

B. THE FALL OF MARLBOROUGH, AND THE TORY ASCENDENCY, 1711-14.

I. *The Tories and the War. Downfall of Marlborough, 1711.*

- i. **An All-Tory Ministry formed**—with *Harley* as Chancellor of Exchequer, *St. John*, Secretary of State, and *Rochester*, Lord President of Council.

Note.—Their policy of ending the war quickly was very praiseworthy, but their methods of carrying out the policy were very discreditable.

- ii. **Negotiations with France**—opened after the Archduke's election as Emperor Charles VI.

- iii. **Campaign of 1711.** 1. Failure of General Hill's expedition to conquer Canada.

2. In *Flanders*—Villars's 'impregnable' lines broken by Marlborough, and **Bouchain** taken.

- iv. **The Disgrace of Marlborough.** (1) His duchess dismissed by the queen (April 1711); (2) the *Duke of Ormonde* (a Jacobite) appointed as Commander-in-Chief; and (3) Marlborough dismissed by Anne from all his offices, December 1711.

Note.—English public opinion against Marlborough was greatly influenced by Dean Swift's pamphlet, 'The Conduct of the Allies' (November 1711).

II. *Conclusion of the War, 1712-13.*

- i. **The disgraceful Campaign of 1712.** (1) Secret orders sent to Ormonde by St. John not to fight; (2) Eugene consequently defeated at **Denain**; and Douay, Bouchain, &c., recaptured by the French.

- ii. **The Peace of Utrecht, March-April 1713** (and *Peace of Rastadt, March 1714*, separately made with the Emperor Charles VI). *Chief terms of the various treaties:—*

1. *With regard to Great Britain*—(1) *Britain* to have Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia (Acadie), Newfoundland (subject to French fishing rights), Hudson Bay, and St. Kitts (W. Indies). (2) *Louis XIV* to recognize Anne and the Protestant succession, and Britain to recognize Philip V. (3) *Spain* to give Britain, by an *Asiento* (= contract) *Treaty*, the right of transporting negroes to the Spanish colonies, and of sending one merchant ship yearly to Portobello.

2. *With regard to the Continental Powers*—(1) *Philip V* to be king of Spain and her colonies, but to renounce all claims to the French throne. (2) *The Emperor Charles VI* to receive Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and Spanish Netherlands. (3) *Prussia* and *Savoy* to

become kingdoms, and the latter to have Sicily. (4) The Dutch to garrison Namur and other towns as barrier-fortresses.

- iii. **Some Results of the War.** 1. The Hanoverian dynasty and the constitutional settlement of 1689 made secure in Britain.
2. Colonies and possessions gained which gave Britain a very strong naval position both in the New World and the Mediterranean, and also increased her maritime trade.
3. The balance and disposition of power in Europe practically settled until the Revolutionary Wars at end of century; *but frequently threatened* by international struggles, during which (1) *Spain* strove to recover her lost external possessions, (2) *France*, during the minority of Louis XV, first allied *with* Britain, but afterwards joined Spain in colonial and commercial rivalry *against* Britain, (3) *Prussia* rose to prominence as the rival of Austria in Germany, and (4) Russia entered the politics of central and western Europe.

III. *Acts of the Tories to strengthen their position, 1711-14.*

- i. **The Occasional Conformity Act, 1711**—at length passed (*antea*, A₁ II) to prevent Protestant Nonconformists (Whig supporters) from *occasionally* taking the Anglican Sacrament in order to satisfy the Corporation and Test Acts.
- ii. **The Property Qualification Act, 1711**—excluding persons from election to the Commons unless holding land worth at least £300 yearly.
- iii. **Twelve Tory Peers created, 1711**—to make a Tory majority in the Upper House.
- iv. **Repeal, 1712, of Alien Protestants Act**—a Whig measure of 1708 for naturalizing immigrant Huguenots and Dutch Protestants (Whig supporters).
- v. **The Schism Act, 1714**—forbidding any non-member of the Anglican Church to keep a school. Another blow at Dissenting Whigs.

IV. *The Jacobite Conspiracy, 1713-14. Death of Anne, 1714.*

- i. **The last years of Anne's reign**—a crisis in English history.

As Anne's health declined, many Tories became alarmed at the near approach of the Hanoverian succession which would restore the Whigs to power, and conspired to secure the accession of the Pretender. They were supported by St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke), Ormonde, and the High Church party.

- ii. **Quarrel between Bolingbroke and Harley (now Earl of Oxford), 1714**—over the Schism Act, which the latter opposed. Consequent dismissal of Oxford from the Lord Treasurership, and increased illness of the queen.
- iii. **The Duke of Shrewsbury (a moderate Whig) elected as Lord**

Treasurer—through the action of the two Whig dukes, Somerset and Argyll. The Jacobite conspiracy was thus thwarted.

- iv. **Anne's death, August 1, 1714**—followed by the immediate proclamation of the Elector of Hanover as George I of England. His mother, the Electress Sophia, had died some months before Anne.

V. *Summary of the Chief Features of the Reign.*

- i. **Political and constitutional.** (1) The Union of England and Scotland, and the establishment of one Parliament for Great Britain. (2) The strengthening of the Party System of government by the ascendancy of the Whigs 1708-10, and of the Tories, 1711-14. (3) The immense political power of the Church of England during this reign. (4) The great development of *the influence of the Press in politics*—shown in the innumerable political pamphlets, journals, and books published during the reign.
- ii. **Religious.** (1) The renewal of restrictions upon Dissenting Protestants in consequence of the increased power of the Anglican Church. (2) The continued persecution of Catholics by fresh penal laws.
- iii. **Foreign.** (1) The Treaty of Utrecht and the settlement of international affairs which it effected. (2) The development of strife between English and French colonists in N. America.

TABLE TO SHOW THE HOUSE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK.

(Refer Table, *antea*, p. 158.)

GEORGE I (great-grandson of James I)

1714-27

GEORGE II
1727-60

Sophia Dorothea=
Frederick William I of Prussia

Frederick II, the Great

Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751)
=Augusta of Saxe Gotha

Anne

William Augustus
D. of Cumberland
(d. 1765)

4 daughters

GEORGE III
1760-1820

3 sons and
2 daughters

GEORGE IV
1820-30

Frederick
D. of York
(d. 1827)

o

CHARLOTTE (d. 1817)
=Leopold I of
Belgium (as his
first wife)

WILLIAM IV
1830-7

o

Edward, D. of
Kent (d. 1820)

VICTORIA
1837-1901
(Table, *postea*, p. 293)

EDWARD VII
1901-10

GEORGE V
1910-

Ernest, D. of
Cumberland, and
K. of Hanover
from 1837

Adolphus Frederick
D. of Cambridge

George, D. of
Cambridge
(d. 1904)

Mary Adelaide
=Francis
D. of Teck

3 sons and
4 daughters

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST HANOVERIAN KING: GEORGE I, 1714-1727

- (i) **TITLE AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE I.** At the age of 54 George I ascended the throne of England as the son of the Electress Sophia of Hanover (granddaughter of James I), in accordance with the Act of Succession of 1701. In character he was cynical, selfish, and licentious; slow-minded, and fixed in his German ideas and prejudices. On the other hand he was economical, good-tempered, a brave soldier, and faithful to his friends.
- (ii) **POLICY**—to placate his new subjects by his moderation, so as to win their support to his continental policy of advancing Hanover—always his first interest—among the German states.
- (iii) **THE MINISTRIES OF GEORGE I (all Whig).**
 - (1) The Townshend-Stanhope Ministry, 1714-17.
 - (2) The Stanhope-Sunderland Ministry, 1717-21.
 - (3) The Walpole Ministry, 1721-7.

A. THE FIRST TWO MINISTRIES, 1714-21.
A₁. THE TOWNSHEND-STANHOPE MINISTRY, 1714-17.**I. The Whig Supremacy (1714-61) and its Results.**

- i. **George I's first Ministry**—naturally Whig, the Tories having opposed his accession: *Lord Townshend* and *General Stanhope*—Secretaries of State; *Walpole*—Chancellor of Exchequer after 1715; *Lords Sunderland, Halifax, and Nottingham*, with *Pulteney*. (Marlborough fell ill 1715, and died 1722).

ii. The Whigs in power for nearly fifty years.

- 1. **Chief causes:** (1) The treasonable attempts of the Tory party to upset the Act of Succession, and the consequent dislike of them shown by George I and George II. (2) Most of the great land-owning peers were Whigs, and amongst them controlled many seats in the Commons. (3) The Whigs were supported by the industrial and commercial classes, as well as by the Dissenters, in return for their encouragement and protection. (4) George I knew no English, and therefore left the administration almost entirely to his ministers, thus greatly strengthening the Whig position.

2. Chief results:

- Unfavourable. { (1) The government was a Whig oligarchy, for 46 years unbroken.
 (2) Very few reforms were made in laws, Parliament, or Church, lest the Whig settlement should be endangered. (3) The Church was ruled by Whig bishops and higher clergy, under whom it sank into apathy and inaction.

Favourable.

- (4) *On the other hand* Great Britain enjoyed a long period of firm administration and consistent policy at home and abroad, enabling its resources and commerce to be greatly developed, its colonies extended, and the new dynasty firmly established.
- (5) Moreover, the constitution was strengthened by the importance given to *the Cabinet as a special Committee of the King's Privy Council*, and by *the rise of Prime Ministers* in consequence of the king soon ceasing to attend the Cabinet councils.

- iii. **Persecution of late Tory ministers by George I's first Parliament, 1715**—overwhelmingly Whig. Bolingbroke and Ormonde, fleeing to France, were attainted. Oxford was arrested, but acquitted after trial.

II. *Jacobite Rising of 1715.*

- i. **Causes.** (1) The unsettled condition of England, encouraging the Pretender to prepare for an invasion. (2) Dissatisfaction in Scotland with the Act of Union. (3) The Highlanders' normal opposition to a firm government.
- ii. **Chief events.** 1. The **Pretender proclaimed as James III** (1) by the Earl of Mar at **Braemar** in the Highlands (September), and (2) by the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale and Mr. Forster in the north of England (November). On November 13 the latter were defeated at **Preston**, and also an indecisive battle occurred between Mar and the Duke of Argyll at **Sheriffmuir**.
2. **Landing of the Pretender in Scotland (December).** But, finding himself too late, he withdrew with Mar to France, February 1716.
3. Derwentwater and twenty-seven others executed. Nithsdale and Forster escaped.
- iii. **Its indirect results.** 1. **The Riot Act, April 1715**—passed owing to Jacobite riots. It empowered a magistrate to declare it a felony for twelve or more persons to remain assembled after the Act was read in public.
2. **The Septennial Act, 1716**—lengthening Parliament's duration to *seven years*.
3. Repeal of Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1719 (*below*, A₂ III).
4. Gradual making of new roads through the Highlands for military purposes.

III. *England and European Affairs, 1714-17.*

- i. **Foreign policy of the Whigs:** (1) to secure the peace of Europe by maintaining the Treaty of Utrecht, and (2) to prevent Spain, under **Cardinal Alberoni** as chief minister of Philip V, from allying with France, and reversing the Treaty.

Note.—Concerning George I's Hanoverian policy the ministers were divided (see *below*).

ii. **Death of Louis XIV, September 1715.** *Its political effects were :*

- (1) the opening up of a new period of international relationships on the accession of Louis XV—an ailing boy of five—under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. (2) The beginning of an *Anglo-French alliance* (October 1716), owing to the jealousy between Orleans and Philip of Spain. (3) *The Triple Alliance* (January 1717) between England, France, and Holland to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht. ✓

iii. **England involved in Hanoverian foreign complications owing to—**

- (1) George I's purchase of **Bremen and Verden** in 1715 from Denmark, who had conquered them from Sweden while Charles XII, king of Sweden, was in exile in Turkey (after being defeated at Pultava, 1709, by Russia); (2) George I's promise to help Denmark if Sweden attacked her.

A₂. THE STANHOPE-SUNDERLAND MINISTRY, 1717-21.I. *The Whig Schism.*

- i. **Its causes.** (1) George I's predominant desire to strengthen Hanover and make it a leading state in Germany. (2) The disagreement between Stanhope and Townshend on various matters of foreign policy: e.g. the latter and Walpole had disapproved not only of the king's purchase of Bremen and Verden, and his promise to Denmark, but also of the Triple Alliance.
- ii. **Townshend dismissed from office by the King, April 1717.** Consequent on this both Walpole and Pulteney resigned.
- iii. **The Stanhope-Sunderland Ministry formed :** *Stanhope* (made a peer 1717) being First Lord of Treasury, and *Sunderland* and *Joseph Addison*—Secretaries of State.

II. *Foreign Affairs under Stanhope, 1717-20.*

- i. **Alberoni's Schemes for Spain.** 1. *Against France*—he plotted to overthrow Orleans in favour of Philip V, should the expected death of Louis XV occur.
2. *Against Austria*—he began war in 1717 by seizing Sardinia.
3. *Against England*—he encouraged Charles XII to claim back Bremen and Verden, and to prepare an invasion of England (1717) in behalf of the Pretender. This was stopped only by Charles's death while besieging Frederickshall in Norway (1718).
- ii. **Stanhope's foreign policy.** 1. A fleet sent to protect Bremen and Verden.
2. **War with Spain begun, 1718**—to impose the settlement of Utrecht upon Philip. (1) The Spanish fleet defeated off **C. Passaro** (Sicily) by Admiral Byng. (2) *The Quadruple Alliance* then formed (August 1718), by the addition of the Emperor to the Triple

Alliance. (3) *A Spanish force sent to Scotland, 1719*, in behalf of the Pretender. A storm destroyed the greater part at sea: the remnant was crushed at **Glenshiel**.

3. Peace made 1720—after a joint attack on Spain by England and France.

Philip was forced to dismiss Alberoni, surrender Sardinia, and renounce his claims to the French throne.

III. *Home Affairs under the Stanhope Ministry, 1717–21.*

- i. **Extension of Religious Toleration, 1719**—by the *repeal* of the Occasional Conformity Act (1711), and the Schism Act (1714).

- ii. **Rejection of Stanhope's Peerage Bill, 1719**—by the Commons through Walpole's influence.

Note.—The Bill, by limiting the number of new peers created, would have made the Upper House a permanent Whig oligarchy, independent of both Crown and Commons.

- iii. **The South Sea Scheme, 1720–1.** In 1720 the *South Sea Company*—formed by Harley, 1711, to trade in the New World—agreed with the government, in return for fresh trading privileges, to undertake the whole National Debt and to pay £7,500,000 besides. The Company's shares rose to prices enormously beyond their real value. But the competition of rival companies at length caused a reaction in the market, and ruin came upon thousands of speculators in the shares of this and other speculative companies.

- iv. **Death of Stanhope and collapse of the Ministry, 1721**—after a Parliamentary investigation of the Company's affairs had shown some of the *minor* ministers to be involved. Stanhope died from shock, and Sunderland resigned.

- v. **Walpole's return to power, 1721**—as the consistent opponent of the Scheme, and the one financier able to restore order to financial affairs.

B. WALPOLE'S MINISTRY, 1721–7: CONTINUATION OF WHIG SUPREMACY.

I. *Walpole and his Methods of Government.*

- i. **His Character and Policy.** 1. Walpole was a great lover of sport and country life, a hard worker, good-natured but plain-spoken, and a keen judge of men. He had great financial and administrative ability. His chief fault was an excessive love of power, which brought him at various times into quarrels with all the chief men of his party.
2. His policy was to keep peace abroad, and to rouse as little opposition as possible to the Hanoverian dynasty at home. He therefore sought to avoid foreign wars by diplomacy, and to prevent domestic

disturbances by conciliating the religious parties and promoting the industries and commerce.

ii. **His Ministry:** *Walpole*—First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Townshend* and *Carteret*—Secretaries of State. Other ministers—*Newcastle* and *Pulteney*.

iii. **The development of the Cabinet System and the Premiership**
—*due to*

(1) *Walpole's* resolve to have a ministry united under him in one general policy, domestic and foreign; and (2) to George I's withdrawal from the meetings of his ministers owing to his ignorance of English. *Walpole* was the first recognized Prime Minister.

iv. ***Walpole's* system of corruption.** In order to strengthen his position in Parliament and the country he practised all the arts of Parliamentary corruption in use after the Restoration and first systematized by *Danby* (*antea*, p. 190).

II. *Affairs in Ireland, 1719-29.*

i. **A new restriction on the Irish Parliament, 1719**—added to *Poyning's Law* (*antea*, p. 123). By this the English Parliament was given the *right* to make laws binding on Ireland. The Irish were further agitated by—

ii. **The issue of Wood's Half-pence, 1723.** To amend the coinage the government granted a patent to make copper coins for Ireland to an Englishman named *Wood*. The opposition to the scheme was purposely encouraged by **Dean Swift**, who in his 'Drapier Letters' attacked the scheme till *Walpole* withdrew it in 1724.

iii. **The Irish Catholics completely disfranchised, 1729**, by the Irish Parliament.

As a result the Irish government was entirely controlled by the Protestant minority—one-sixth of the whole.

III. *Walpole and Home Affairs, 1721-7.*

i. **His early financial reforms, 1721-5:** to promote England's manufactures and foreign trade. Parliament was induced to abolish many *import* duties on raw materials, as well as nearly all *export* duties.

ii. ***Walpole's* Home Difficulties.** 1. **Conspiracy of Bishop Atterbury of Rochester, 1722**—in favour of the Pretender. It was suppressed, and *Atterbury* banished. Next year *Walpole* allowed *Bolingbroke* to return, but not to sit in the Lords (*antea*, p. 224).

2. **Quarrels with his ministers:** (1) In 1724, about foreign affairs with *Carteret*, who resigned and was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (2) In 1725 with *Pulteney*, whom he also forced out of the Ministry.

3. **Beginning of opposition to Walpole.** (1) '*The Craftsman*', a weekly newspaper, founded by Pulteney and Bolingbroke 1726, as a means of rousing the country against the government. (2) An opposition party in the Commons, also formed by Pulteney, and joined by discontented Whigs and many Tories. They were known later as 'The Patriots'.

Note.—The rendezvous of the opposition was *Leicester House*, the residence of the Prince of Wales, who had quarrelled with his father.

IV. *Walpole and Foreign Affairs, 1722-7. Death of George I.*

- i. **Renewal of continental difficulties, 1722.** (1) The Ostend East India Company formed in 1722, to compete with English trade in the East, by the Emperor Charles VI, now dissatisfied with the Quadruple Alliance. (2) Spain's designs to regain Gibraltar resumed 1722; also its quarrels with France.
- ii. **The consequent Austro-Spanish Treaty of Vienna, 1725**—formed against England and France.

The Emperor was to help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, and Spain to grant trading-rights to the Ostend Company, and to uphold the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

Note.—The Pragmatic Sanction was an arrangement by which Charles VI, having no son, left his *hereditary* dominions of Austria to his daughter *Maria Theresa*. She could not inherit the Empire, for election to which women were ineligible.

- iii. **The rival Treaty of Hanover, September 1725**—formed by England, France, and Prussia to counteract the Vienna Treaty and to maintain that of Utrecht. On Prussia withdrawing, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden joined it.
- iv. **Resulting events in 1726.** (1) Gibraltar besieged by Spain. (2) Admiral Hosier sent with a British fleet to the W. Indies. (3) An *armistice* concluded with the Emperor by Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, the chief minister of France, and, like Walpole, a supporter of peace.
- v. **Death of George I, June 1727**—while travelling in Hanover.

V. *Chief Features of the Reign.*

- i. **Domestic.** (1) The beginning of the Whig supremacy, which lasted till 1761. (2) The withdrawal of the King from the active direction of the policy and administration of his ministers; and the consequent completion of the Revolution of 1688 in the growth of the *Cabinet system of government*, and in the beginning of the *Premiership*. (3) A great development in the trade and industries of England, as well as in its colonizing activities.

- ii. **Foreign.** (1) Establishment of a close connexion with Hanover, involving a considerable change in Britain's foreign policy. (2) The steady maintenance of the Treaty of Utrecht by foreign alliances against Spain. (3) A complete reversal of French policy towards England, owing to the Orleans regency.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE II, 1727-1760

- (i) **CHARACTER OF GEORGE II.** Of an abler and stronger personality than his father, he was also more familiar with the English language and English affairs. He was prudent, methodical in habits, brave and just; but obstinate, greedy and coarse, and never popular.
- (ii) **POLICY.** Though disliking a constitutional monarchy, he wisely continued his father's policy of entrusting the administration to his Whig supporters. In *foreign* matters his Hanoverian interests inclined him to friendship with Austria and hostility to Prussia. But after 1748 events forced him to reverse this attitude.
- (iii) **GEORGE II, QUEEN CAROLINE, AND WALPOLE.** Being an opponent of Walpole, George II made *Sir Spencer Compton* prime minister; but he very soon displaced him for Walpole, on the advice of Queen Caroline whose practical views he admired and followed despite his domestic infidelity. Walpole found the queen his faithful friend until her death in 1737.
- (iv) **MINISTRIES OF GEORGE II (all Whig).**
- (1) The Walpole Ministry, 1721-42.
 - (2) The Carteret-Wilmington Ministry, 1742-4.
 - (3) The Pelham Ministry, 1744-54.
 - (4) The Newcastle Ministry, 1754-6.
 - (5) The Pitt-Devonshire Ministry, Nov. 1756-April 1757.
 - (6) The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, June 1757-March 1762.

A. CONTINUATION OF WALPOLE'S MINISTRY, 1727-42.

I. *Foreign Affairs*, 1727-35.

- i. **Peace with Spain by the Treaty of Seville, 1729**—which Walpole and Fleury induced Philip V to make with England and France.
- ii. **Peace with Austria by the Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731**—brought about by Walpole undertaking to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction (*antea*, p. 228).

The treaty, signed by Austria, England, France, Spain, and Holland, gave prospects of peace to all Europe. Unfortunately these prospects were nullified by—

iii. **The First Bourbon Family-Compact between France and Spain, 1733.**

By this, each agreed (secretly at first) to support the other's policy against England, the Treaty of Utrecht, and the Emperor.

iv. **The War of the Polish Succession, 1733-5** : over the election of a successor to the King of Poland (died 1733). A general continental war followed, the rival sides led by Austria and France. Walpole, aiming to protect both Hanoverian interests and British trade, wisely kept Britain out of the war.

Note.—In 1725 Louis XV had married a Polish princess, who in 1729 bore him a son and heir.

II. *Internal Events till the Queen's Death, 1727-37.*

i. **The Annual Act of Indemnity, 1727**—renewed yearly by Walpole to indemnify those Nonconformists who broke the Corporation and Test Acts.

ii. **Lord Townshend's retirement, 1730**—owing to a quarrel with Walpole.

Note.—He abandoned politics for farming. To him are due the cultivation of the turnip, and other innovations in farming, which helped to revolutionize that industry.

iii. **Failure of Walpole's Excise Bill, 1733**—which sought to check smuggling by levying the duties on wine and tobacco as *excise* from the retail dealers, instead of at the ports as *customs*. Threatened riots caused its withdrawal.

iv. **The Methodist Revival and its influences.**

1. *Unsatisfactory condition of the Church owing to* : (1) the strong political partisanship shown by the Church generally in its support of the Stuarts ; (2) the consequent discontinuance of Convocation by the Whig ministry, 1717, and (3) the alienation of the country clergy (mostly Tory) from the Whig bishops placed over them. The Church had thus become apathetic, and the religious life of England had sunk to a very low ebb.

2. *The Methodist movement under Wesley, 1730-91.* (1) Begun at Oxford by John and Charles Wesley, and a small group of young men united in leading a methodical, religious life. (2) In 1739 the first Methodist Society founded by John Wesley. (3) Gradual extension of his evangelistic work over England, the American colonies, and other countries—chiefly amongst the working-classes—until his death in 1791 at the age of 88.

3. *Results of Wesley's influence* : (a) the religious and moral life of the country revived ; (b) sympathy with the poor and distressed greatly stimulated ; (c) the clergy of the Church of England stirred into great spiritual activity by the example of his zealous followers, the Methodists.

v. **Increase of the opposition to Walpole, 1733-8.** I. 'The Patriots'

(*antea*, p. 228) joined early in the reign by Carteret and others, and in 1733 by Lord Chesterfield, the last of Walpole's important colleagues.

2. The opposition joined in 1736 by Frederick, Prince of Wales, and also by *William Pitt*, leader of the young Whigs whom Walpole scornfully called 'the Boys'.
- vi. **Death of Queen Caroline, 1737**—whose support of Walpole had hitherto counterbalanced the opposition. Walpole's foreign policy was now specially attacked.

III. *The 'War of Jenkins's Ear' with Spain, 1739-48.*

- i. **Its chief causes.** (1) The smuggling of English goods into the Spanish colonies by evasions of the Asiento Treaty (*antea*, p. 219). (2) Spain's claim to the right of searching English ships for contraband goods, and the harsh methods of Spanish customs-officers in enforcing the claim. (3) *The immediate cause*—the 'affair of Jenkins's ear', which the Patriots used to excite the nation to war.

Note.—Jenkins was an English sea-captain whose ear was supposed to have been cut off by a Spanish coast-guard.

- ii. **Events of the War until 1742.** (1) 1739: capture of **Portobello** (Panama) by Admiral Vernon. (2) 1741: his failure to capture Cartagena. (3) 1740: dispatch of *Admiral Anson* to attack the South American colonies.

He sacked **Paita** in Peru, and other towns; crossed the Pacific after taking much Spanish treasure; and returned home round C. of Good Hope in 1744.

IV. *Resignation of Walpole, 1742.*

- i. **Events of his fall.** 1. The opposition to him—based on the death of the Emperor Charles VI (1740) and the slowness of the War—renewed by Pulteney and Carteret.
2. His majority decreased in the elections of 1741, and his supporters in Parliament defeated over the Chippenham election petition.
3. *His resignation* after being Prime Minister 21 years. Created **Earl of Orford**.
- ii. **Some of his achievements.**
 1. Peace maintained abroad for 18 years, and England's prosperity and wealth greatly increased. *He was the first peace Minister.*
 2. England rescued from the financial troubles consequent on the South Sea Bubble, and home industries and trade encouraged by the reduction of export and import duties. *He was the first great finance Minister.*
 3. The nation reconciled to Hanoverian rule by his wise tolerance of the Jacobites.

4. Cabinet government developed by his ascendancy in the ministry, and by his reliance on Parliamentary majorities. *He was the first Prime Minister.*

B. FROM WALPOLE'S FALL TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1742-56.

I. *The Carteret-Wilmington Ministry, 1742-4.*

- i. **Chief members:** *Lord Wilmington*—nominal head; *Carteret*—real Prime Minister, as Secretary of State. Others (as under Walpole)—*Newcastle*, and *Henry Pelham* his brother.

Note.—The ministry was nicknamed 'The Drunken Administration', partly because of Carteret's habits, and partly because of his reckless foreign policy.

- ii. **Carteret's foreign policy:** to form a European combination against France—now again threatening England's colonial trade and also the European balance of power.

II. *War of the Austrian Succession (1741-8). First Period, 1741-4.*

i. **Its causes.**

1. *The original cause* was the death of the Emperor Charles VI in 1740, and the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to his hereditary dominions of Austria. Despite the Pragmatic Sanction the *Elector Charles Albert* of Bavaria claimed Bohemia and Austria, while *Frederick II*, the new king of Prussia, seized Silesia, and began the war on the Continent.

2. *The cause regarding England* was the support given by France and Spain both to Frederick (who defeated the Austrians at **Mollwitz**, 1741) and to Charles Albert (elected Emperor as Charles VII in 1742). As England was at war with Spain and a rival of France, Maria Theresa successfully appealed, through the English guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, for help from George II and Carteret. *The war with Spain therefore became merged in the War of the Austrian Succession in 1742.*

- ii. **Events during 1742-4.** 1. **The Treaty of Breslau, 1742**, by which Maria Theresa, advised by Carteret, formally ceded Silesia to Frederick the Great.

2. Defeat of the French at **Dettingen, 1743**—by George II and Lord Stair.

Note.—This was the last battle in which a British king personally took part.

3. **The Treaty of Worms, 1743**, by England with Austria, Holland, and Sardinia, to expel both France and Spain from Italy.

Results:—

- (1) The Second Bourbon Family-Compact in the Treaty of Fontainebleau

(October). (2) Renewal of the Franco-Prussian alliance, 1744, by Frederick the Great, still jealous of Austria. (3) Declaration of war on England by France.

4. Attempted French invasion of England, 1744, in favour of the **Young Pretender**. It was thwarted by a storm.

iii. **Fall of Carteret, November 1744.** He was unpopular both with Parliament and the nation on account of (1) his strong support of the king's German interests, and (2) his unsuccessful diplomacy, and mismanagement of the war.

III. *Henry Pelham's Ministry (1744-54). Second Period of the War, 1744-8.*

- i. **The new Ministry and its policy.** *Pelham*—First Lord of Treasury and Prime Minister; *Duke of Newcastle* (his brother) and *Lord Harrington*—Secretaries of State; and others from every section of the Whigs, and even some Tories. Hence nicknamed 'The Broad-bottom Administration'.

Pelham was a follower of Walpole's peace policy, and strove to bring the war to a close.

- ii. **Defeat of the Allies**—under the Duke of Cumberland—at **Fontenoy**, 1745, by the French, who then captured Tournai and other Flemish fortresses.

iii. **The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6.** 1. **The Young Pretender in Scotland.** Landing at Moidart in W. Highlands, July 25, 1745, he marched with a Highland army via Perth to Edinburgh. He defeated Sir John Cope at **Prestonpans** (September 21).

2. **His futile invasion of England.** Marching through Lancashire he reached **Derby** (December 4); but, finding three armies opposing his way, he retreated to Scotland.

3. **Events in Scotland, 1746.** In January he besieged Stirling, and defeated General Hawley at **Falkirk**; but on April 16 was overthrown at **Culloden Moor** (Inverness) by the Duke of Cumberland. After months of wandering in the Highlands he escaped to France.

4. **Results of the rebellion:** (1) Several leaders and their followers were executed, and many others transported to the W. Indies. (2) The Highlanders were treated with great severity by the Duke of Cumberland: they were disarmed, their national costume was forbidden, and the hereditary jurisdictions of their chieftains were abolished.

iv. **Close of the War, 1745-8.** 1. Death of Emperor Charles VII, January 1745, and peace made between Austria and Bavaria.

2. The Treaty of Dresden, December 1745, between Maria Theresa and Frederick II, the former again ceding Silesia to Prussia.

3. French victories at **Baucoux** 1746, and **Lauffeld** 1747, thus conquering Austrian Netherlands.
4. *Colonial Events*: (1) British capture of **Louisburg** in C. Breton Isle, 1745, and (2) French capture of **Madras** in India, 1746.
5. *British naval victories over French*, 1747: (1) off C. Finisterre; (2) off Ushant.
6. **The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), October 1748.** *Chief terms*:—
 - (1) All conquests to be restored, but Prussia to retain Silesia. (2) France to abandon the Stuart cause and expel the Old Pretender and his son. (3) Maria Theresa's husband, the Duke of Lorraine, to be recognized as the Emperor Francis I (he had been elected September 1745).
7. *Results of the War*: (1) The Stuart prospects in England were at an end, and Jacobitism became a forlorn hope. (2) Austria, still hostile to Prussia, changed partners in order to avenge the loss of Silesia, and soon allied with France. Thus the peace was but little more than a truce.

IV. *Domestic Events, 1748-56.*

- i. **The reform of the Calendar, 1751**—by which, through Parliament, the 'new style' of the *Gregorian Calendar* was adopted for this country in place of the 'old style' of the Julian Calendar.
- ii. **Deaths of Frederick, Prince of Wales (1751), and of Pelham (1754).**
The former's eldest son George, thirteen years old, became heir to the throne.
- iii. **The Newcastle Ministry, 1754-6.** *Chief members*: *Newcastle*—in his brother's place; *Robinson* and *Henry Fox*—Secretaries of State; *William Pitt*, Paymaster of the Forces.

V. *Anglo-French Rivalry in India and North America.*

- i. **In India**, under *Dupleix*, the energetic governor of Pondicherry, the French had, during the late war, striven to obtain political control of India and to oust the English. In 1751 a worthy English rival to Dupleix appeared in *Robert Clive*, who brilliantly seized and defended **Arcot** against an army of French and natives. In 1754 Dupleix was recalled to France, and southern India had temporary peace.
- ii. **In North America**—the French were seeking to confine the English between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic coast, where since 1620 thirteen English colonies had developed. The French held colonies to the north in *Canada*, and to the south-west in *Louisiana*; and in 1749 they claimed all the land west of the Alleghanies, building along the Ohio to L. Champlain a line of forts of which Fort Duquesne was chief. *A frontier war followed.*

iii. Colonial and European events leading to the Seven Years' War.

1. *In N. America*: (1) Two British attacks on Fort Duquesne were repulsed by the French—in 1754 that of *George Washington*, and in 1755 that of *General Braddock*, who was killed. (2) Help was sent in 1755 by both home governments, and a general war became imminent.
2. *In Europe*: rival alliances were made—*England*, with Frederick the Great of Prussia; and *France*, with Austria, Saxony, and Russia.

Note.—The rivalry was really between (a) England and France for colonial and maritime supremacy, (b) Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany, and (c) France and Prussia for supremacy as a military power.

C. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TILL THE DEATH OF GEORGE II, 1756-60.

I. Causes of the War.

- i. **Continental.** (1) The intense desire of Maria Theresa to win back Silesia from Prussia. (2) The European alarm caused by Prussia's development under the ambitious Frederick II, and the consequent alliance of Austria, France, Saxony, and Russia in order to crush his power and partition Prussia.
- ii. **Anglo-French**—the rivalry for colonies and trade-areas in America and India.

II. Ministerial Changes during 1756-7.

- i. **Collapse of the Newcastle Ministry, November 1756**—owing to the difficulties, foreign, colonial, and domestic, which Newcastle had to deal with.
- ii. **The Pitt-Devonshire Ministry, November 1756–April 1757**, with *William Pitt* as chief Secretary of State and real head of affairs.
 1. **Pitt's character and policy.** Born in 1708, he was in many respects the greatest man of his age—an eloquent orator, an inspiring statesman and war minister, and incorruptible in office. On the other hand he was inordinately proud and ambitious, and grew to be very autocratic. As minister in charge of the war *his policy* was (1) to secure British supremacy at sea, in order to prevent the French from sending help to their colonies in America and India, (2) to prevent Britain from being subordinated to Hanoverian interests, and (3) to leave the continental part of the war to Frederick the Great, aiding him with *subsidies* of money rather than with a large army.
 2. **His early measures.** (1) The Hanoverian troops in England dismissed. (2) The British army increased and strengthened by the

new plan of enlisting regiments from the Scottish Highlands. This plan had the additional advantages of finding safe employment for the fighting qualities of the Highlanders, and of making them loyal to the Hanoverian dynasty.

3. **His dismissal by the King, April 1757**—owing to George's dislike of his policy.

iii. **The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, June 1757–March 1762.**

Owing to Pitt's popularity George could not, for over two months, induce any one else to form a ministry. At length a *coalition* ministry was formed with *Newcastle* as nominal Prime Minister, and with *Pitt* again as real head in control of the war—which meanwhile had gone badly for England.

III. *Events of the Seven Years' War till 1760.*

i. **Campaigns of 1756.**

1. *In Europe*: (1) **Minorca** blockaded by the French, and Saxony invaded by Frederick the Great. (2) *Admiral Byng*, failing to relieve **Minorca**, was tried for it, and executed at Plymouth.
2. *In America*: **Forts Oswego** and **William Henry** captured by *General Montcalm*, French governor of Canada.
3. *In India*: **Calcutta** seized (June) by *Surajah Dowlah*, Nawab of Bengal, an ally of the French. One hundred and forty-six English were imprisoned in a small room, June 23, and all died next night except twenty-three. (The 'Black Hole'.)

- ii. **Campaigns of 1757.** 1. *In India*: (1) **Calcutta** recaptured by *Clive*, January 1757. (2) At **Plassey** (June 23) the Nawab defeated and driven from Bengal. *Mir Jaffir*, an ally of the English, then made Nawab by *Clive*.

2. *In Europe*: (1) Bohemia invaded by Frederick, who was victorious at **Prague**, but defeated and driven back at **Kollin**. (2) In *Hanover* the Duke of Cumberland defeated by the French at **Hastenbeck**, and compelled to sign the *Convention of Kloster-Seven*, leaving Hanover to the French.

[*Note*.—Pitt now returned to office, and by his vigorous measures soon changed the aspect of the war.]

- (3) Repudiation of the Convention by King George and Pitt, Hanover being placed in charge of *Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick*.
- (4) Troops and large subsidies sent to Frederick, who then defeated the French at **Rosbach**, and the Austrians at **Leuthen** (November).

- iii. **Campaigns of 1758.** 1. *In India*: attempt of the French under the *Comte de Lally* to conquer the Carnatic. **Fort St. David** taken, and Madras besieged.

2. *In Europe*: (1) The French defeated by Ferdinand of Brunswick at **Grefeld**, and cleared from Hanover and the Rhine region. (2) The *Russians* defeated at **Zorndorf** by Frederick of Prussia, and the *Austrians* at **Hochkirk** (October).
3. *In America*: (1) **Louisburg** and **C. Breton I.** captured by the British (July). (2) Also **Fort Duquesne** (November), and its name changed to **Fort Pitt** (later Pittsburg).
4. *At sea*: the dispatch of French help to Canada prevented by British fleets.

iv. Campaigns of 1759: the Year of Victories.

1. *In America*: (1) **Ports Niagara** and **Ticonderoga** captured from the French, followed by *General Wolfe's* advance with 8,000 men up the St. Lawrence. (2) The French under *Montcalm* defeated by Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, and **Quebec** captured (September 13), though both generals were slain.

Note.—The conquest of all Canada followed during 1760, and the French were thus expelled from N. America (except the Mississippi delta).

2. *At sea*: (1) **Guadaloupe** (W. Indies) captured by an English fleet (May). (2) *The threatened French invasion of England thwarted by Pitt and his admirals.* (a) In July **Havre** bombarded, and the transports destroyed by *Rodney*. (b) In August the *Toulon fleet* defeated off **C. Lagos** by *Boscawen*. (c) In November the *Brest fleet* destroyed at **Quiberon Bay** by *Hawke*.

Note.—The French naval power was thus crushed for the remainder of the war, and the French colonies were rendered helpless.

3. *In Europe*: (1) The French attack on Hanover thwarted through their defeat at **Minden** (August) by Ferdinand of Brunswick. (2) Frederick of Prussia routed by the Russians at **Kunersdorf** (on Oder).
4. *In India*: the French siege of Madras repelled, and **Masulipatam** taken by British.

v. Campaigns of 1760. 1. *In India*: overwhelming victory of *Sir Eyre Coote* over de Lally at **Wandewash** (January 22).

Note.—This victory assured to the British the supremacy of India.

2. *In Europe*: The Austrians defeated at **Liegnitz** (Silesia) and **Torgau** (Saxony) by Frederick—aided by Ferdinand.

vi. Death of George II, October 25, 1760.

IV. Summary of Chief Features of the Reign.

- i. *In internal affairs.* (1) The complete reconciliation of the country to the Hanoverian dynasty. (2) The great development of Britain's wealth and commercial prosperity owing to Walpole's peace policy

and administration. (3) The advance made in Cabinet Government under a Prime Minister. (4) The rise and spread of Methodism, with the consequent revival of religious feeling, and the spread of sympathy with the poor and distressed.

- ii. **In foreign affairs.** (1) The continental complications resulting from England's connexion with Hanoverian interests. (2) The severance of England's friendship with Austria (dating back to the Middle Ages); and the alliance with Prussia, the rival of Hanover as well as of Austria. (3) The renewal of the struggle with France, and *its world-wide extension*.
- iii. **In colonial affairs.** The great increase of England's colonial territory and power by the conquest of Canada and the establishment of British supremacy in India.

BOOK IX

THE FOURTH PERIOD OF MODERN ENGLAND: POLITICAL REACTION, AND NASCENT RE- FORM, INFLUENCED BY THE FRENCH AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS, 1760-1830

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Increased intermingling of Welsh, Irish, and Scots with the English through the political and social union of the British Isles.
2. Increased flow of people from the British Isles to the colonies.

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **The Land.** (1) Increase of *enclosures by Acts of Parliament*, and the accumulation of lands under fewer owners [ch. I, p. 253]. (2) Continuation of the Agrarian Revolution now stimulated by the Industrial Revolution [ch. I, pp. 253-4].

2. **Society.** (1) Increased growth in wealth, power, and luxury of the *landowning class*, owing to the much enhanced values of land in industrial areas. (2) Continued increase of *the middle classes* in number, wealth, and social influence owing to the great growth of commerce and industries (see *below*), but still without much, if any, direct *political* power [ch. I, pp. 253, 254, 256, 275]. (3) Gradual spread of poverty and discontent among the *working-classes*, owing to (a) the unequal development of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions [ch. I, pp. 253, 254, 273-4], (b) the French Revolution [ch. I, p. 255], and (c) the prolonged French wars [ch. I, pp. 258, 269, 272, 273-4]. (4) *Rapid growth of towns* in industrial areas, and decrease of the *rural population* [ch. I, p. 254], with consequent rise of *the modern slums and the housing problem*. (5) Continued spread of sympathy with the poor and distressed [shown in: ch. I, pp. 253, 258, 265, 269, 273; ch. II, pp. 278, 280]. (6) *Abolition of the slave-trade* in the British dominions [ch. I, p. 265]. (7) Peginning of the movement for *a national system of education*, 1820 [ch. II, p. 276]. (8) *In Ireland*—growth of agrarian and religious discontent [ch. I, pp. 251, 260-1].

3. **Commerce and Industries.** (1) The great *Industrial Revolution*, and rise of *the factory system*, together with other effects [ch. I, p. 253]. (2) Accelerated increase of commerce and industries owing to (a) the Industrial Revolution, (b) colonial expansion (see *below*), and (c) the gradual *beginning of a free-trade policy* [ch. I, pp. 252, 261; ch. II, p. 278]. (3) *Result*: Great Britain's commercial and industrial supremacy throughout the world.

4. **Learning and Literature.** (1) Further development of a knowledge of philosophy, science, and the arts, *chiefly among the middle classes*. (2) Revival of 'natural' and romantic poetry; and increase of the novel, and all forms of essay-writing. (3) Increase in the freedom of the Press, and in periodical literature.

5. **Economic and social measures** [ch. I, pp. 244, 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 257-8, 261, 265, 273, 274; ch. II, pp. 276, 278, 279-80.]

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Gradual increase of toleration**, culminating in the repeal of all laws against Protestant and Catholic Nonconformists [ch. I, pp. 250, 260, 262, 275; ch. II, pp. 276, 279, 280].

2. **Persistence of anti-Catholicism** [ch. I, pp. 250, 260, 261, 263, 275].

(iv) POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Gradual break-up of the Whig supremacy** by George III [ch. I, pp. 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 251, 252].

2. **Rise of a New Whig party** (the later Whig reformers) [ch. I, pp. 255, 258, 273-4; ch. II, pp. 276, 277-8].

3. **Rise and growth of the Radical party** [ch. I, pp. 245, 256, 258, 273, 274].

4. **Tory and Old Whig reaction** [ch. I, pp. 255, 268, 272, 273, 274; ch. II, pp. 276, 278, 279].

5. **Rise of the New Tory party** (Canningites) [ch. II, p. 278].

6. **Beginning of the Era of Reform** [ch. II, pp. 276, 277, 278, 280].

7. **Formation of Irish parties** [ch. I, pp. 251, 260; ch. II, pp. 279-80].

8. **Colonial expansion** [ch. I, pp. 242, 246, 253, 259, 260, 264, 272, 275; ch. II, pp. 280-1].

9. **Rise of new political problems:** those of Empire [ch. I, pp. 242, 244, 245, 246, 247-50, 252, 253, 255, 258, 259, 262, 264; ch. II, pp. 280-1].

10. **Colonial loss** [ch. I, pp. 250, 275].

11. **Foreign relations:** their scope gradually grown world-wide. (1) *Maintenance of the Balance of Power:* (a) by diplomacy [ch. I, pp. 246, 253, 270, 271, 274; ch. II, pp. 276, 277, 280], (b) by war [ch. I, pp. 242, 248-9, 250, 255, 256-72; ch. II, p. 279]. (2) *End of the Second Hundred Years' War*, 1815 [ch. I, p. 272]. (3) *England's only war with the United States* [ch. I, p. 270]. (4) *Change of Britain's foreign policy from reactionary to Liberal* [ch. II, pp. 276, 277, 279, 280].

12. **The French Revolution** and its world-wide influences [ch. I, pp. 254-5, 258, 272].

13. **Establishment of Great Britain as the first world-Power of modern times**, through (1) its commercial and industrial, (2) naval, (3) maritime, and (4) colonial supremacy [ch. I, p. 272].

(v) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Temporary revival of royal control** over Parliament and ministers by George III [ch. I, pp. 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 261].

2. **Final recovery of control by Parliament** and its ministers [ch. I, pp. 252-5, 261, 264].
3. **Rise and growth of Parliamentary Reform** [ch. I, pp. 245, 250, 252, 261, 272; ch. II, pp. 276, 279, 280].
4. **Rise and growth of Economic Reform** [ch. I, pp. 250-1, 252, 264; ch. II, p. 278].
5. **Royal and ministerial corruption of Parliament** [ch. I, pp. 241, 243, 252, 264].
6. **Constitutional incorporation of Ireland with Britain** [ch. I, p. 261].
7. **Constitutional development in the colonies:** (1) in America [ch. I, pp. 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 255; (2) in India [ch. I, pp. 246, 251, 252].
8. **Growth of the standing army** [ch. I, pp. 247-50, 264, 267, 269, 270-1].
9. **Growth of the navy** [ch. I, pp. 242-3, 249, 257, 258, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 272].

CHAPTER I

GEORGE III, 1760-1820

- (i) **CHARACTER OF GEORGE III.** Brought up under the strict supervision of his mother and his Tory tutor, Lord Bute, George showed throughout his reign the influence of their narrow-viewed teaching. Though possessed of average natural abilities, his prejudices and obstinacy caused him to make many costly blunders in state affairs. He was simple in his tastes, deeply religious (though strongly anti-Catholic), and a faithful husband: qualities which endeared him to his subjects generally. But he was averse from culture, preferring the life of a country squire to the atmosphere of a study.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY**—was to free himself from the ministerial control which had bound George I and George II, and to restore the supreme influence of the Crown. To do this he sought *first* to overthrow the power of Pitt and Newcastle by bringing the war to a close, *next* to break up the Whig party and form a predominant party of his own in Parliament and out, and *then* by bribery and corruption to keep Parliament permanently in his own control.
- (iii) **THE MINISTRIES OF GEORGE III.**
 - (1) The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, 1757-62.
 - (2) The Bute Ministry, 1762-3.
 - (3) The Grenville-Bedford Ministry, 1763-5.
 - (4) The First Rockingham Ministry, 1765-6.
 - (5) The Chatham-Grafton Ministry, 1766-8.
 - (6) The Grafton Ministry, 1768-70.
 - (7) The North Ministry, 1770-82.
 - (8) The Second Rockingham Ministry, 1782.
 - (9) The Shelburne Ministry, 1782-3.
 - (10) The Coalition (Fox and North) Ministry, 1783.

- (11) The First Pitt Ministry, 1783-1801.
- (12) The Addington Ministry, 1801-4.
- (13) The Second Pitt Ministry, 1804-6.
- (14) The Grenville Ministry, 1806-7.
- (15) The Portland Ministry, 1807-9.
- (16) The Perceval Ministry, 1809-12.
- (17) The Liverpool Ministry, 1812-27.

A. FROM THE ACCESSION TO THE AMERICAN REBELLION, 1760-75.

I. *The End of the Seven Years' War, 1760-3.*

- i. **Events of 1761.** 1. **Adverse influence of George III** through Lord Bute, whom George appointed a Secretary of State—to work against Pitt.
- 2. **Renewal** (August) of the **Bourbon Family-Compact** (the third), by which the Spanish king agreed to help France against England (*refer* 1733 and 1744).
- 3. Pitt's proposal to declare war at once on Spain rejected by the Cabinet through Bute's influence. Consequent resignation of Pitt (October).
- ii. **Events of 1762.** 1. Bute obliged to declare war on Spain, January 1762.
- 2. Newcastle driven to resign (March) through King George insisting on the subsidies to Prussia being stopped. Bute now became Prime Minister (*see below*).
- 3. *British successes continued.* (1) **Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia,** and **St. Vincent** captured from France by Admiral Rodney. (2) **Havana** captured from Spain by Rodney, and **Manila** by another fleet.
- 4. Peace negotiations opened by George and Bute *without considering Prussia*.
- iii. **The Peace of Paris, February 10, 1763.** 1. **Chief terms between Britain and France:—**
 - (1) *Britain received*—Minorca (Europe), and retained Canada, Nova Scotia, C. Breton Isle (N. America), with Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica (W. Indies), and Senegal (W. Africa). (2) *Britain restored to France*—Goree (W. Africa), Belle Isle, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and other places in America, with Pondicherry and other stations in India.
 - 2. **Between Britain and Spain:—**(1) *Spain ceded* Florida and the right to cut timber in Honduras. (2) *Britain restored* Havana and Manila.
- iv. **Results of the War.** 1. *To Great Britain:* (1) Definite establishment of her colonial and maritime greatness by the acquisition of enormous

territories in N. America and India, and by the clearing of hostile fleets from the seas. (2) The foundation of her Indian Empire. (3) The extension of her commerce to all parts of the globe under the protection of her victorious fleets, and the beginning of the assertion of her right to search neutral vessels in war-time. *Against these gains must be placed*: (4) The loss of all friendship with continental states, including Prussia, which regarded itself as betrayed, and the increasing jealousy of all the maritime powers. (5) The rebellion of the American colonies, 1775-83, as a result of the removal of all French restriction upon their expansion westward. (6) The alliance of France, Spain, and Holland with the rebellious colonies, 1778-83. (7) The addition of over £75,000,000 to the National Debt.

2. *Continental results*: (1) Decline of *France* as a colonial power, and great increase in her financial difficulties owing to the cost of the war. (2) Establishment of *Prussia's* importance as a military power and a successful rival of Austria for the leadership among the German states. The rivalry was ended only with the victory of Prussia at **Sadowa** in 1866 (*postea*, p. 308).

II. George III and Parliament.

In pursuance of his policy (see *above*), after his overthrow of the Pitt-Newcastle ministry during 1761-2, George began to gather around him a party which became known as 'The King's Friends'. It was composed of three classes: (1) the bulk of the Tories, who soon recognized George's leanings to their own ideal of 'King, Church, and State'; (2) the malcontent Whigs excluded from office by Pitt; and (3) a large group of men won over solely by George's system of bribery and corruption adopted from the Whigs. *The results of his efforts* were that by 1770 he had obtained a subservient ministry under **Lord North**, and a permanent majority in Parliament—there being by that time among his supporters no less than 192 members of the Commons who were place-holders under the Crown.

III. Lord Bute's Ministry, May 1762-April 1763.

- i. **Bute's subordinates**—including several members of the previous ministry:—
George Grenville and *Lord Egremont*—Secretaries of State; *Earl Granville* (Carteret)—President of Council; *Henry Fox*, and others.
- ii. **Control over ministers assumed by George III**—so that all had henceforth to submit to his directions. Many Whig civil-servants were dismissed.
- iii. **The Treaty of Paris, February 1763**—the chief achievement of the Bute ministry. But Parliament's sanction was secured only through the grossest bribery.
- iv. **Unpopularity and Fall of Bute**—due to his Scottish nationality and the unpopular peace.

IV. *The Grenville-Bedford Ministry, 1763-July 1765. Grenville's two Blunders.*

i. **Chief members:** *George Grenville* (Pitt's brother-in-law)—Prime Minister and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Duke of Bedford*—President of Council; *Lords Halifax* and *Sandwich*—Secretaries of State.

ii. **Grenville's first blunder—the persecution of John Wilkes, 1763.**

1. Arrest and imprisonment of Wilkes—M.P. for Aylesbury—on a general warrant, for his article in No. 45 of the *North Briton*, attacking the ministry and the King's Speech which closed the session.
2. Wilkes's appeal, and his release by Chief Justice Pratt, on the ground of his privilege as M.P. *General warrants* (i. e. warrants without name of person to be arrested) *were declared illegal*.
3. His expulsion from Parliament by the subservient Commons, who voted 'No. 45' a seditious libel, and by the Lords, who condemned a poem of his for impropriety. He escaped to France, and was then outlawed by Parliament.

Note.—These events were the first stage in the efforts, lasting several years, made by the Crown to restrain the liberty of the Press (*postea*, p. 246). They made king and ministry unpopular.

iii. **Grenville's second blunder—his taxation of the American Colonies, 1765.**

1. **The relations of the Colonies** to the mother-country: not very cordial, owing to English fiscal policy and colonial refusal to contribute to cost of imperial wars.
 2. **Grenville's new colonial policy**, threefold:—(1) to enforce the trade-laws (e. g. *antea*, p. 185) strictly, (2) to establish a *permanent* British army in America, and (3) to tax the colonies to pay for it in part. During 1764 he completely stopped all smuggling, thus rousing general resentment in New England.
 3. **His Stamp Act passed, 1765**—imposing a stamp duty on all legal documents in America. Such a duty was new in kind, being *internal* taxation; and, on the principle of 'no taxation without representation', it was widely resented, and riots ensued.
- iv. **Grenville's resignation, July 1765**—owing to an adverse vote over a Regency Bill. George III had reluctantly to allow another Whig ministry—under Rockingham.

V. *The Marquis of Rockingham's Ministry, July 1765-July 1766.*

i. **The new ministers:**—*Rockingham*—in Grenville's posts; *Conway* and *Duke of Grafton*—Secretaries of State; *Newcastle*, *Edmund Burke*, and others.

ii. **Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766**—supported by Pitt.

But a *Declaratory Act* was passed asserting the right of the English Parliament to tax its colonies. Several import duties were also remitted or much reduced.

iii. **Dismissal of Rockingham (July)**—George having persuaded Pitt to take office as Lord Privy Seal, and accept a peerage as **Earl of Chatham**.

Note.—Pitt's peerage lost him the influence he had swayed as 'the Great Commoner'.

VI. *The Chatham-Grafton Ministry, July 1766–October 1768.*

i. **Chatham's chief colleagues**:—*Duke of Grafton*—First Lord of Treasury ; *Charles Townshend*—Chancellor of Exchequer ; *Conway*, *Lord Shelburne*, and others. Unfortunately Chatham soon fell very ill, and the Cabinet became ruled by the brilliant but rash Townshend.

ii. **Townshend's renewal of American Taxation, 1767**—by his *Revenue Act*, which placed fresh customs-duties on tea, glass, paper, and other articles going into the colonies.

Result—renewal of colonists' resistance, and rioting.

iii. **Death of Townshend (September 1767)** of a fever ; and **resignation of Chatham (October 1768)**, through increased ill-health.

VII. *The Grafton Ministry, October 1768–January 1770.*

i. **Chief members**: *Grafton*—First Lord ; *Lord North*—Chancellor of Exchequer ; together with *Sandwich*, *Weymouth*, and other Bedford Whigs.

ii. **Second stage of Struggle between the Commons and Wilkes, 1768–9.**

1. **Wilkes elected for Middlesex, April 1768**—but expelled by Commons, and imprisoned twenty-two months for his former libel in the *North Briton*.

In 1769 he was re-elected and expelled three times ; but on a fourth re-election the seat was given to his opponent, Colonel Luttrell. All these events were accompanied by popular riots, and agitation on paper and in the streets of London.

2. *Results of the struggle*—formation of 'Political Associations' to promote Parliamentary reforms, and *development of English Radicalism*.

3. **The 'Letters of Junius'**—written anonymously in the *Public Advertiser* during 1769–71, bitterly attacking the government upon the Wilkes and other questions.

- iii. **Resignation of Grafton, January 1770**—owing to the attacks of Chatham (now returned to Parliament), Junius, and the populace.

Note.—With his fall the power of the great Whig party collapsed for many years. George III was at length triumphant in his policy.

VIII. *Lord North's Tory Ministry, January 1770–March 1782.*

- i. **The King's ideal of a servile ministry attained—**

in *North* (First Lord and Chancellor) and his subordinates—*Sandwich, Hillsborough, Gower*, and others. For the next twelve years George was in fact the controller of every department of government, and was chiefly responsible for the failures of this period.

- ii. **Final struggle between Parliament and Press, 1771**—begun by the arrest of the printer of a London newspaper for publishing Parliamentary debates.

Through the efforts of Wilkes, now a City alderman, the printer and other prisoners were released; and since then the right of freely reporting the debates of Parliament has been allowed.

- iii. **Foreign affairs.** 1. In 1770 Britain's right to the *Falkland Is.* ceded by Spain.

2. In 1772 the *first Partition of Poland* by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

- iv. **Indian affairs.** 1. **North's Regulating Act for India** passed 1773, subordinating the East India Company's affairs to government control in return for a loan.

- (1) A Governor-General and a Council of Four appointed for Bengal, with control also of Madras and Bombay. (2) A Supreme Court of Justice set up at Calcutta. (3) All the Company's proceedings to be laid before the home government for approval (see *postea*, p. 252).

Note.—The first Governor-General was **Warren Hastings**.

2. **Suicide of Lord Clive, November 1773**—after a general vote of censure passed by Parliament on Indian officials.

- v. **Continued American difficulties: events leading to Rebellion, 1770–5.** 1. **The Boston 'Massacre', March 1770**—really the killing or wounding of several persons by English soldiers while quelling a riot in Boston. It was exaggerated by *Otis, Adams*, and other colonial agitators into a massacre.

2. **North's withdrawal of all duties except that on tea, March 1770**—to conciliate the colonists. Complete repeal, however, was still demanded.

3. **The Boston 'Tea-Party', December 1773**—in which a number of men boarded the tea-ships in Boston harbour, and threw the tea into the sea.

4. **Consequent punitive measures of the Government:** (1) the custom-house at Boston removed to Salem, and (2) the constitution of Massachusetts annulled (1774).

5. **The Quebec Act passed 1774**, securing to the Canadians both their own laws and the Roman Catholic religion.

Results: the loyalty of the Canadians strengthened, but that of the keen New England Puritans further weakened.

6. **Union of Colonists against England** in the 'Continental Congress' of all the states except Georgia at Philadelphia, October 1774.

A Declaration of Rights issued, and all trade with England forbidden until redress of grievances had been granted by the home government.

B. PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN REBELLION, 1775-83.

I. Summary of the Causes of the Rebellion.

i. **General causes:** (1) The expulsion of France from North America (*antea*, p. 243). (2) The unsatisfactory character of the old laws regulating colonial trade. (3) Grenville's Stamp Act of 1765, and the ill-feeling it aroused. (4) The obstinacy and autocratic policy of George III.

ii. **Immediate causes:** (1) Townshend's renewal of taxation, 1767. (2) The Boston 'Massacre', 1770, which increased colonial ill-feeling. (3) North's fatal retention of the tea-duty, 1770. (4) The Boston Tea-Riot, 1773, and (5) the government's consequent punitive measures.

II. Chief Events of the War until Saratoga, 1775-7.

i. **Events of 1775.** 1. *Outbreak of war:* English troops ambushed and defeated at **Lexington** (April), near Boston; followed by the capture of **Bunker's Hill** (June) by the English under General Gage.

2. **The Olive Branch Petition** dispatched by the Colonial Congress at Philadelphia, appealing to England for recognition of their constitutional position in the matter of taxation. *George III refused even to receive it.*

3. **George Washington** made by Congress commander-in-chief of their forces.

4. **Invasion of Canada** and attempted siege of Quebec by the rebels. The Canadians showing no sympathy, the expedition was withdrawn, 1776.

ii. **Events of 1776.** 1. Boston evacuated (March) by General Howe's English troops. The government then sent 18,000 *hired Hessians* to the colonies.

2. **Declaration of American Independence, July 4, 1776**, by the Congress in reply to this move, 'The United States of America'

were declared free and independent, and all political connexion with Great Britain was severed.

3. **New York captured by the English** and made their new base (September), but Lord Cornwallis defeated by Washington at **Trenton and Princeton** (New Jersey).

iii. **Events of 1777.** 1. *English plans for isolating the New England States.* General Howe was to seize Philadelphia and hold the central states, while General *Burgoyne* was to march from Canada down the Hudson valley and join forces with General *Clinton* from New York, thus cutting off the northern states.

2. Howe's victory at **Brandywine Creek** (September), and occupation of Philadelphia.

3. **Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga** (October 17)—in the upper Hudson valley—because Clinton failed to reach him in time to help.

Results: Saratoga was the turning-point of the war, both encouraging the rebels to greater exertions, and inducing France to join them against England.

III. *Events from Saratoga till North's Resignation, October 1777–March 1782.*

- i. **Events of 1778.** 1. **The Franco-American alliance, February 6, 1778**, followed by England declaring war on France.

2. **Death of Chatham, May 11, 1778**—after speaking in the Lords against a proposal to recognize American independence.

Note.—He had always advocated the utmost conciliation short of independence.

3. Philadelphia evacuated by the English before arrival of a French fleet.

4. **Savannah (Georgia)** captured by the English (December), but Dominica and St. Lucia (W. Indies) lost to the French through *North's neglect of the English navy.*

- ii. **Events of 1779.** 1. The Franco-American alliance joined by Spain.

2. Consequent **siege of Gibraltar** begun by the Spaniards.

Note.—Lord North now wished to resign, but George persuaded him to retain office and try to save the aristocratic *Southern colonies*, where many were still loyalists.

- iii. **Events of 1780.** 1. **Campaign in Southern States**—with Savannah as base. (1) **Charlestown** (S. Carolina) captured by Clinton. (2) Americans defeated at **Camden** by Cornwallis; but English soon forced to retreat to Georgia.

2. **Major André** captured and executed at Washington as an English spy (September).

3. **The Spanish fleet defeated off C. St. Vincent** by Rodney, and Gibraltar splendidly defended by General Elliott—thereby relieving it temporarily.

4. *The Armed Neutrality of the North* formed by the neutral powers—Russia, Denmark, Sweden—to maintain against England that (1) only an effective blockade could be recognized, and (2) neutral vessels could carry for belligerents goods not proclaimed as contraband.

5. War declared by Britain on **Holland** (December) for joining the alliance against her.

- iv. **Events of 1781.** Cornwallis **surrendered at Yorktown** (Virginia), October 1781—after a land-siege by General Greene, and a blockade by de Grasse's French fleet. ?

Note.—The war was now practically ended as regards America. It was, however, continued against France, Spain, and Holland.

- v. **Events of 1782 till North's resignation.** 1. *Defeats:* (1) Several W. Indian possessions captured (January–March) by French fleets; (2) **Minorca** captured by Spaniards (March), and siege of **Gibraltar** renewed by the combined French and Spanish fleets.
2. *Victories:* (1) de Grasse defeated off **St. Lucia** (April) by Rodney and Hood, and **Jamaica** made safe; (2) the combined siege of **Gibraltar** completely repulsed by Elliott (September).
3. Resignation of North, March 1782—after the king's refusal to make peace.

- vi. **Events in India during the War, 1778–83.** **Brilliant work of Hastings.** 1. **First Mahratta War, 1778–82:** owing to (a) French intrigues in Central India, 1778, and (b) interference in Mahratta feuds by the English governor of Bombay.
2. **First Mysore War, 1778–84:** owing to similar French intrigues with *Hyder Ali*, the Mohammedan ruler of Mysore.

The Mahrattas invaded Bombay territory, and *Hyder Ali* overran Madras and the Carnatic. To meet the double danger Governor-General Hastings organized and dispatched two Bengal armies. With one *General Goddard* expelled the Mahrattas from Bombay, and with the other *Sir Eyre Coote* secured Madras by defeating *Hyder Ali* at **Porto Novo, 1781**. *Hyder Ali* died 1782, and Hastings made peace with his son *Tippoo Sultan*, 1784. He had already brought the Mahrattas to peace, 1782.

Note.—Hastings brilliantly saved English rule in India at a crisis. But some of his proceedings, to raise money for his struggles with natives and to pay the dividends of the Company, were questionable; and grave charges were brought at home against his rule (*postea*, C I).

IV. *The Rockingham and Shelburne Ministries, and Peace, 1782–3.*

- i. **Lord Rockingham's Second Ministry, March 20–July 1, 1782.**

1. *Chief members:* **Rockingham**—First Lord of Treasury; *Charles James Fox* and *Lord Shelburne*—Secretaries of State; *Edmund Burke*, Paymaster of Forces.

2. Negotiations for peace opened, but delayed by *Rockingham's death* (July 1).
- ii. **The Shelburne Ministry, July 1782–February 1783.**
Chief members: *Shelburne*—in *Rockingham's* place; *William Pitt* (*Chatham's* second son)—Chancellor of Exchequer and Leader of Commons; *Lord Thurlow*, and others.
- iii. **The Treaty of Versailles (or Paris), January–September 1783:** the chief work of *Shelburne's* ministry. Holland held aloof till May 1784.
Chief terms: (1) *The United States* were recognized as independent. (2) *France* received from Britain Tobago, St. Lucia, and Senegal, and also certain trading forts in India. She restored to Britain all other W. India islands captured from her. (3) *Spain* received Minorca.

iv. Results and lessons of the War.

1. *To Great Britain:* (a) Loss of half her N. American territory, and increased National Debt of £250,000,000. (b) Loss of nearly all trade with the States, and growth of a long-standing bitterness between her and them. (c) *On the other hand* British statesmen learnt valuable lessons—the importance of a powerful navy to control her seas, and the value of self-government both for her colonies and at home. Moreover George III's power received a severe blow: *never again was an English king so autocratic.*
2. *To France*—her treasury made bankrupt and her monarchy brought to the brink of ruin. These and the example of the Americans led to the Revolution of 1789.
3. *To Spain*—her South American colonies encouraged to strive to become independent republics; so that before long she lost most of her colonial empire in the New World.

V. Events at Home during the American War, 1775–83.

- i. **Efforts for religious Toleration.** (1) *Sir George Savile's Act*, 1778, passed repealing the Act of 1700 which forbade Catholics to celebrate mass, or acquire land not inherited. (2) *The Toleration Act* of 1689 amended, 1779, so that the Thirty-nine Articles were not compulsory on Dissenting ministers.
- ii. **The Gordon Riots in London, 1780**—led by **Lord George Gordon**, a fanatical Protestant—supporting a petition to Parliament against *Savile's Act*. For three days London was in the hands of 'No Popery' rioters, who were dispersed only by the king ordering troops to fire on them.
- iii. **Efforts for Reform and Economy.** 1. Vain attempts were made after 1770 to secure reform in Parliamentary representation, by **Chatham**, **Wilkes**, and the **younger Pitt**.
2. Those led by **Edmund Burke** to obtain economy—in sinecures,

pensions, and other forms of corruption—were more successful. (1) *The Great Yorkshire Petition*, 1780, presented by Savile, asking for economical reforms, was supported by twenty-four counties, and (2) *Dunning's resolution* against the Crown's increasing influence was carried in Parliament. (3) *Burke's Civil List Act*, 1782, passed by Rockingham's ministry, reformed sinecures, offices, and pensions. (4) Acts were also passed 1782 excluding all revenue officers from voting at elections, and government contractors from Parliament.

iv. Affairs in Ireland.

1. **Formation of the Irish Volunteers, 1779**—to protect Ireland while the regular troops were fighting in N. America. In response to the call of the government nearly 100,000 Irish Protestants enrolled themselves as volunteers to defend Ireland from French invasion. But the Irish (Protestant) Parliament, which had led the movement, seized the opportunity to *demand free trade and a free Parliament*.
2. **The Irish Revolution of 1782, and Grattan's Parliament.** (1) At the *Convention of Dungannon* (February), led by Grattan and Flood (both Protestants), the legislative and commercial independence of Ireland was demanded. In the Irish Parliament (April) the **Irish Declaration of Rights** was then passed embodying these demands. (2) The Rockingham Ministry, forced by their circumstances, then repealed all acts restrictive on Ireland, and gave the Irish Parliament *complete control over all Irish affairs*.

Note.—The first free Parliament thus set up in Ireland was known as *Grattan's Parliament*. It had full legislative independence, but had no control over the executive government of the Lord Lieutenant. Moreover, it represented only the Protestant minority. From 1782–1800 Ireland was disturbed by the consequences.

- v. **Fall of the Shelburne Ministry, February 1783**—owing to an adverse vote, moved by Fox and North in coalition, censuring the terms of peace (*above*).

vi. The Coalition Ministry, April–December 1783:

1. **Chief members:** Fox and North, hitherto bitter opponents—Secretaries of State; Duke of Portland—First Lord; Burke, Cavendish, and others.
2. **Failure of Fox's India Bill**—for reforming further the administration of the East India Company, now real rulers of the greater part of India.

The king, hostile to both bill and ministry, brought about the rejection of the former (December 18), and soon after dismissed the latter. William Pitt then became Prime Minister, when not quite twenty-five years old.

Note.—The youngest of all England's Prime Ministers, he was also the longest in office (1784–1801, and 1804–6) except Walpole.

**C. THE PEACE PERIOD OF PITT'S MINISTRY: TILL THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR, December 1783–February 1793.**

I. Affairs under Pitt, December 1783–9.

i. Pitt's Ministry, Character, and Policy.

The chief new ministers: Pitt—First Lord, and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lords Carmarthen and Sidney*—Secretaries of State; *Lord Thurlow, Henry Dundas*, and others.

- ii. His character and policy.** The new Prime Minister was a brilliant orator and a painstaking financier. Resolute, upright and honest, he was a lover of peace, and eager for fiscal reforms as a disciple of **Adam Smith**, the founder of the Free-Trade movement. He was, however, always too cautious and too fond of power to risk his position by the persistent advocacy of any great cause for its own sake. Nominally a Whig like his father, he was really the founder of a new party which, later on, under Canning and Peel, became the new Conservative party.

His policy, until 1789, was to promote Parliamentary and financial reforms at home, and peaceful commercial relations abroad.

Note.—After being three months in a minority Pitt triumphed over the Coalition by gaining a large majority at the general election, March 1784.

iii. Pitt's India Act, 1784—to improve the government of India.

Chief points: (1) The government, civil and military, to be under a *Board of Control of six members*, connected with the home government. (2) The East India Company still to retain power of appointment to all Indian posts, subject to the veto of the Crown.

Note 1.—Pitt's Act remained in force till 1858, after the Indian Mutiny.

Note 2.—**Warren Hastings** returned to England, 1785, to meet the grave charges raised against his rule in India by **Burke, Fox**, and **Sheridan**. He was impeached by the Commons, 1788, and his trial lasted till 1795, when he was acquitted.

- iv. Failure of Pitt's efforts for Parliamentary Reform, 1785**—his motion to purchase certain corrupt boroughs and redistribute their seats being defeated. Similar motions having been previously rejected during 1782–3, he now dropped the matter entirely.

- v. His Financial Reforms more successful.** (1) Parliamentary corruption checked by reforming the audit of public accounts. (2) Duties reduced on articles of wide sale (such as tea, tobacco, spirits, &c.). (3) A *Sinking Fund* established, 1786, to pay off the National Debt. (4) A commercial treaty made with France, 1786, to establish trade-reciprocity between the two countries.

Note.—His measure in 1785 for a *commercial union* of Ireland with England failed, because so modified by the English Commons that the Irish Parliament rejected it.

vi. **The Movement for the Abolition of the Slave Trade**—begun by **Thomas Clarkson** in 1783. The annual motions, during 1789-92, of **Wilberforce**, M.P. for Yorkshire, condemning the slave trade, received the support of Pitt, as well as of Fox and Burke; but abolition was not gained until 1806.

vii. **Foundation of the Australian Colonies, 1788**—by the English government establishing *a convict settlement at Botany Bay*.

Note.—Australia first became known to England through its exploration by **Captain Cook**, 1769-79. Its use for the transportation of prisoners there was due to N. America being no longer available.

viii. **The Regency Dispute, 1788-9**: after the king's second illness, November 1788. Fox asserted the Prince of Wales's right to be Regent unrestricted by Parliament, while Pitt maintained Parliament's right to limit his powers. The speedy recovery of the king saved Pitt from a dangerous position.

ix. **Foreign Affairs, 1788-9**. 1. A treaty of mutual defence made (1788) with Holland by Pitt. It declared the closing of the Scheldt to foreign commerce.

2. *A Triple Alliance formed 1789, by Prussia signing the treaty.*

II. *The Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century.*

i. **The Agrarian Revolution**—after 1700. 1. **Its chief causes**:

(1) The gradual spread of a more scientific system of farming—alike in methods, implements, and crops. (2) The improved breeding of cattle and sheep. (3) The change from the common-field system of arable farming to that of enclosures.

2. **Its development aided by**: (1) the increase of population in the industrial areas (see *below*) causing an increased demand for food; and (2) the great number of Enclosure Acts passed after 1760 by Parliament.

3. **Its chief results**: (1) A much greater abundance and variety of food, especially for winter. (2) A great increase in the number of large farms under capitalist farmers able to adopt the new methods of agriculture—with much better results. (3) The consequent displacement of the small yeomen farmers, who had to become labourers, and so swell the numbers of the poorest classes in competition for work. (4) The concurrence in rural England of increased prosperity and wealth among the landowners and large farmers with increased distress and pauperism among the working classes.

ii. **The Industrial Revolution**—after 1750 chiefly. 1. **Its chief causes**:

(1) A series of inventions in machinery—such as the spinning-jenny, the spinning-mule, and power-loom—for manufacturing textiles; at first applied to cotton goods; then later to woollen cloth, hosiery.

&c. (2) The application of coal instead of wood-charcoal to the smelting of iron. (3) The application of steam-power to the running of machinery.

2. **Its development shown in:** (1) the increased amount of work turned out by each worker; (2) the establishment of the factory-system in place of home-working; (3) the concentration of the chief manufactures in the neighbourhood of coal and iron; (4) the construction of canals and improved roads between and through the various industrial regions.

3. **Its chief results:** (1) *Economic and Social*—(a) The enormous growth of England's trade in manufactured textile and iron goods, as well as in its wealth and population. (b) The gradual transference of the bulk of population from the south and east to the north, which became the centre of our commercial and political life. (c) The breaking-up of formerly uncultivated areas of land to supply the increased demand for food. (d) In the *rural* districts: a distressing loss of income caused by the cessation of domestic manufactures among the families of small farmers and labourers. (e) In the *urban* districts: an increase of poverty and distress among the working classes owing to the substitution of machinery and steam-power for hand-work, to the stationary low wages paid, and to the competition for work caused by the influx of labour from the rural districts.

(2) *Political:* (a) the great increase of England's political power abroad, due to the growth in its national wealth and prosperity. (b) The increased importance of the manufacturing and commercial classes, and their jealousy of the political influence of the great landowners. (c) The consequent tendency to moderate reforms in government and Parliament, until checked by the outbreak of war against the French Revolution.

III. *The French Revolution, 1789-95.*

- i. **Chief causes.** 1. The increasing discontent in France during the eighteenth century owing to the evil social and economic conditions prevailing: (1) the nobles and clergy escaped taxation by privilege, (2) the merchants, manufacturers, and peasantry were burdened with heavy taxes and feudal ties, while having no political influence, (3) the soil was badly tilled, and famine often resulted from a failure of the crops.
2. The absolute political power of the king and his ministers, who were often very incompetent and tyrannical.
3. The exhausted state of the national treasury owing to the numerous wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV.
4. The spread of a great intellectual movement throughout France, in which religion, class privileges, and vested interests were attacked, the supremacy of the people was upheld, and *liberty, equality, fraternity* were proclaimed for all.
5. The summoning of the *States-General* early in 1789 by Louis XVI, as a last resort to find money and avoid national bankruptcy. It had not met since 1614.

- ii. **Chief events of the Revolution, 1789-95.** 1. A Constitutional Monarchy established, 1789-91 : (1) May 1789—the States-General forcibly turned by the Third Estate (Commons) into a National Assembly. (2) July 14—the Bastille stormed by a Paris mob, and riots begun against the 'aristocrats' all over the country. (3) August : all class-privileges and feudal rights abolished, and a popular constitution forced on the king. (4) During 1790—the Church disestablished and deprived of its lands. (5) June 1791—failure of the king's attempt to escape to the Army. (6) October 1791—a new Legislative Assembly elected, in which the *Girondist* party (moderate Republican) had chief control.
2. War declared on Austria (April 1792) and on Prussia (July)—because of their efforts to help the French exiled nobles. (1) France invaded by the two allies, causing (2) a panic in Paris, and the September massacre of royalist prisoners. (3) Defeat of Prussians at *Valmy* (September).
3. *A Republic established and the King executed.* (1) France declared a Republic by the new National Convention (September 20). (2) The Prussians defeated by French troops at *Jemappes* (November), Brussels captured, and the Scheldt opened to French ships. (3) A Decree issued by the Republic offering help to all nations revolting against their rulers. (4) *Louis XVI executed*, January 21, 1793, through the influence of the *Jacobin* party (extreme Republican). (5) *War against England, Holland and the Empire*, February 1793.
4. *The Reign of Terror, September 1793-July 1794*, under 'The Committee of Public Safety'. (1) Queen Marie Antoinette executed, October 1793, followed by thousands of other executions. (2) Reign of Terror ended through the successes of the French armies.
5. *The Directory of Five established* (November 1795-9), ending the Revolution proper.

IV. *British Affairs, 1790-3.*

- i. **The Canada Act, 1791**—by which Canada was divided into **Upper** (British) and **Lower** (French) **Canada**, each with a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives (*postea*, p. 292).
- ii. **Some effects of the French Revolution on Great Britain.**
1. **Among the lower classes and the intelligent classes**—a widespread impetus was given to the reform movement.
2. **Among the upper and wealthy classes**—an alarm spread lest the Revolution should in some degree be imitated in Britain; and a reaction began.
3. **Among the statesmen**—Pitt at first regarded the Revolution favourably, and till 1792 maintained a strict neutrality towards France; Fox and a few Whigs were enthusiastic about it; but Burke, supported by the Tories and the Old Whigs, was from the first against it, and his 'Reflections on the French Revolution' (1790) influenced the bulk of English people against the events in

* Very indirectly so.

France. During 1792 even Pitt changed, abandoning all hopes of peace and domestic reforms. *The result was a general panic on the part of the Government, and the checking of all political progress for a generation.*

4. **Consequent repressive measures.** (1) Royal decrees issued enjoining severity on all magistrates in case of tumults; (2) **Tom Payne, Horne Tooke**, and others (Radicals) prosecuted for publishing 'seditious' books; (3) an *Aliens Act* passed, January 1793, to prevent revolutionaries landing in England; and (4) a *Traitorous Correspondence Act*, February 1793, to prevent secret communications with France.

D. THE WAR WITH REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, 1793-1802.

D₁. FIRST PERIOD: TO THE PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO, 1793-7.

I. Causes of the War. Events of 1793.

- i. **Chief causes.** (1) The decree of the French Convention, November 1792, offering help to all nations which would rise against their rulers. (2) The French occupation of Belgium, and their opening of the R. Scheldt to French ships, contrary to the treaty of 1789. (3) Their threatened occupation of Holland, which was in alliance with Britain.

Note.—Britain's object in the ensuing war was to maintain the security not only of her colonies and commerce, but also of the Low Countries and the balance of power in Europe.

- ii. **The First Coalition against France**—formed through Pitt's efforts by Britain, Holland, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Portugal.

Note.—At first successful, the Coalition ultimately broke down from three causes:—(1) lack of combination among the allies owing to the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia; (2) the sympathy of the peoples of Europe with the revolutionaries and their avowed object of liberating Europe from medieval forms of government; (3) the military efficiency of the First Republic.

iii. Military Events of 1793.

- (1) Toulon captured by a British fleet, but recovered through the efforts of Captain **Bonaparte**. (2) Royalist risings in La Vendée and Brittany suppressed.

[(a) Rise of the Jacobins (extremists) in Paris, and beginning of the Reign of Terror. (b) Second Partition of Poland—by Russia and Prussia.]

II. The Coalition during 1794-5. Withdrawal of Holland, Prussia, and Spain.

- i. **Events of 1794.** (1) *Howe's* brilliant victory over the French off **Brest** (June 1). (2) French defeat of the Austrians at **Fleurus** near Namur (June), and their occupation of the Netherlands.

[Fall of the Jacobins, and end of the Reign of Terror.]

- ii. **Events of 1795.** (1) French capture of the Dutch fleet, and establishment of a *Batavian Republic* under their control. (2) War declared on republican Holland by Britain; and **C. of Good Hope** and **Ceylon** captured from the Dutch, and several W. India islands from French. (3) *The Treaties of Bâle* by France: (a) *with Prussia* (April), France gaining all the left bank of the Rhine, and (b) *with Spain* (July), gaining St. Domingo.
- [(a) Third Partition of Poland—by Austria, Prussia, and Russia; (b) establishment of the Directory in France (October), and increase of activity against Austria and Britain.]

III. *The Coalition during 1796-7: ended by collapse of Austria.*

- i. **Events of 1796.** 1. **Bonaparte's campaign against Austria**—in which his brilliant victories in N. Italy established his fame as a general of genius.
2. **French efforts against Britain:** (1) Spain induced to declare war on Britain (August) so as to gain use of the Spanish fleet. (2) A fleet and troops sent under *Hoche* to help the rebels in Ireland (*postea*, D₂ III), but scattered by a storm.
3. **Pitt's attempts to negotiate peace** (January and October) rejected by the Directory.
- ii. **Events of 1797**—a most critical year for Britain, owing to the threatened preponderance of French naval power allied with that of Spain and Holland.
1. Crushing British victory over the Spanish fleet off **C. St. Vincent** (February) by *Jarvis* and *Nelson*, and consequent decrease of danger.
2. **Mutinies in the British fleets off Spithead (April) and the Nore (May)**—again increasing the danger. The former was checked by Lord Howe promising redress of grievances. The latter was suppressed by hanging several ringleaders.
3. Brilliant victory over the Dutch fleet off **Camperdown** (October) in the Texel by *Admiral Duncan*, thus regaining maritime supremacy and preventing invasion.
4. Failure of Pitt's third attempt to negotiate peace with France.
5. **Austro-French Peace of Campo-Formio (N. Italy), October 1797**—the result of Napoleon's continued victories in N. Italy and Austria.

France gained the Austrian Netherlands; set up the *Cisalpine Republic* in N. Italy under French control; but gave Venice to Austria.

Note.—Britain was now left alone to contend with France.

IV. *Home Affairs during 1793-7.*

- i. **In 1793.** (1) A financial crisis brought on by the failure of many banks. The ensuing panic was calmed only by Pitt issuing

Exchequer Bills to merchants on their depositing securities. (2)
In Scotland—Muir and others tried and imprisoned for sedition.

- ii. **In 1794.** 1. The Habeas Corpus Act suspended by Pitt in May (first time in England since 1745) in continuance of his policy of repression.
2. Watt tried and executed in Scotland for treason (August); and Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and other Radicals tried in England and acquitted (October–December).
3. **Formal separation of Old and New Whigs (July).** The former, led by the **Duke of Portland** and **Burke**, went over to Pitt; the latter, led by **Fox**, **Grey**, and **Sheridan**, continued to oppose the war and Pitt's reactionary policy.
- iii. **In 1795.** 1. 'Bread riots' in London owing to bad harvests and the war.
2. *The Speenhamland Act*: a declaration of the Berkshire magistrates regarding *poor-relief*. It was widely adopted by other county justices.
- iv. **In 1797.** 1. A *second financial crisis* and *Suspension of Cash Payments* by the Bank of England (February). It was due to the exhaustion of the supply of gold following prolonged commercial distress (*refer* 1819).
2. Defeat of Grey's motion for Parliamentary Reform (May).

D₂. SECOND PERIOD: TILL THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1798–1802.

I. *Bonaparte's Expedition to the East, 1798–9.*

- i. **The Directory's two projects against Britain**—after the Coalition had collapsed.
 1. General Humbert sent in 1798 with an expedition to Ireland. He failed, however, after a temporary success (see III. iii, *below*).
 2. Another expedition, prepared for the invasion of England, sent under Bonaparte on his advice to conquer Egypt and Syria, and thence India or Turkey.
- ii. **Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Syria.**
 1. **Malta** seized (May 1798) on his way from Toulon to Egypt.
 2. The Egyptians defeated in the **Battle of the Pyramids** (July), by which he gained control of Egypt.
 3. His fleet in Aboukir Bay defeated by *Nelson* in the **Battle of the Nile** (August 1), with *important results*:—(a) the French army was isolated in Egypt; (b) a fresh European coalition was formed against France (see II, *below*).
 4. **Acre** besieged, March 1799, by Napoleon after marching along the Syrian coast. The Turkish garrison, with English aid under *Sir*

Sidney Smith, held out till May, and forced him to retire to Egypt.

Note.—On hearing of the critical events in Italy and Holland (*below*) Napoleon hastened from Egypt to France (August). There he secured the dismissal of the unpopular Directory, and was made *First Consul* when only thirty years old.

II. The Second Coalition against France, November 1798–1801.

- i. **Events of 1798** (see also *above*). (1) Entry of the French into Rome, and proclamation of the *Roman Republic* (February); followed by their proclamation of Switzerland as the *Helvetic Republic* (April). (2) **Formation of the Second Coalition (November)**—through Pitt's negotiations after the Battle of the Nile—by Britain, Russia, Austria, Naples, and Turkey. (3) Invasion of Naples by the French in reply, and defeat of the Austrians there (December).
- ii. **Events of 1799** (see also *above*). 1. **Early successes of the Allies**:—(1) The French defeated by the Austrians near L. Constance (March), and Venice saved. (2) The French driven from N. Italy by Austrians and Russians combined; and from Naples by Admiral Nelson. (3) The French defeated in Holland by the British, and the Dutch fleet captured (August). 2. **Their later defeats by the French**:—(1) The Russians defeated at *Zürich* (September) by Masséna. (2) The Duke of York forced to make the *Capitulation of Alkmaar* (October) and to evacuate Holland.
- iii. **Contemporary events in India, 1790–9**.
 1. **The Third Mysore War, 1790–2**, waged by Lord Cornwallis (successor of Hastings during 1786–93) against *Tippoo Sahib*, Sultan of Mysore (*antea*, B. III). Tippoo was defeated and half his territories were taken from him (1792).
 2. **The Fourth Mysore War, 1798–9**, caused by the alliance of Tippoo with Bonaparte and the French. *Seringapatam* was captured (May 1799) by Lord Mornington, afterwards Viscount Wellesley (governor-general 1798–1805), and Tippoo killed in battle. Mysore was then made a British dependency, and all southern India soon subjugated.
- iv. **Events of 1800**. (1) Russia withdrawn from the Coalition—owing to the eccentric *Czar Paul's* admiration of Bonaparte's genius. (2) The Austrians twice defeated: (a) at *Marengo* in Piedmont (June) by Napoleon, and (b) at *Hohenlinden* in Bavaria (December) by *Moreau*. Austria now negotiated for peace. (3) *Malta* captured by the English (September). (4) The **Armed Neutrality of the North** again formed (*antea*, B. III. iii) by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark against Britain's *right of search* over neutral vessels. Its real object was to assist France.
- v. **Events of 1801**. 1. The **Peace of Lunéville** (February) between Austria and France, ending the second coalition. Britain, however, continued hostilities by attacking the Armed Neutrality.

2. **The Battle of the Baltic (April)**—in which a British fleet under *Sir Hyde Parker* and *Lord Nelson* defeated the Danish fleet in Copenhagen Harbour. This and the assassination of the Czar Paul (March) ended the League.
3. **Expulsion of the French from Egypt (March)**: after *Sir Ralph Abercrombie* had defeated them at **Alexandria**. Egypt was then restored to the Turks.
- vi. **The Peace of Amiens, March 1802**. *Chief terms*:—1. France agreed (1) to evacuate Naples and the Papal States; (2) to guarantee independence to Portugal.
2. *Great Britain* agreed (1) to restore all conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad; (2) to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John.

III. *Events in Ireland under the 'Free Parliament', 1782-1800.*

- i. **Irish grievances**—still persistent despite the changes of 1782 (*antea*, B. V. iv).
 1. *Parliamentary*: (1) the Irish Parliament remained unrepresentative, the Catholics (five-sixths of the population) being still voteless; (2) most of its members were in the pay of the Crown.
 2. *Agrarian*: rack-rents, absentee landlords, and exactions of tithe still continued.
 3. *Religious*: the harsh laws against Catholics were still enforced.

Note.—Numerous secret societies were formed as a result of these grievances.
- ii. **The United Irishmen, and the Orangemen, 1791-7**. 1. '*The Society of United Irishmen*' formed 1791 by *Wolfe Tone*, an Ulster Presbyterian, to unite all classes in behalf of religious and social reforms. The *first results* were:—(1) the right to vote gained for Catholics by Pitt, and (2) restrictions on their education removed. But George III's obstinacy prevented further concessions; and the leaders therefore sought French aid to form an Irish republic.
2. **The Orange League** (anti-Catholic) then formed, uniting various Protestant societies.
3. **A French expedition sent to Ireland** under General Hoche (December 1796), but prevented by a storm from landing (*antea*, D₁ III). The government then adopted severe measures against the United Irishmen [*below*, (4) and (5)].
- iii. **The Rebellion of 1798**. 1. *Chief causes*:
 - (1) Rack rents and tithes; (2) the exclusion of Catholics from Parliament; (3) the example of the French Revolution; (4) the cruelties of the Orange militia and regular soldiers engaged in repression; (5) the proclamation, March 1798, of martial law.

2. **Events:** (1) A general rising of United Irishmen, planned in favour of an Irish republic, was checked by the arrest of the leaders, of whom *Lord Edward Fitzgerald* was mortally wounded. (2) In May, risings occurred in counties Wicklow and Wexford; but were crushed at **Vinegar Hill** (Wicklow) by *General Lake*. (3) In August a French force landed under General Humbert and defeated Lake at **Castlebar**, but surrendered to *Lord Cornwallis* (Lord-Lieutenant) at **Longford**. This ended the rebellion (*antea*, D₂ I).

iv. The Act of Union of Ireland with Great Britain, 1800.

1. **Events leading to it:** (1) Pitt, Cornwallis, and Lord Castlereagh (Irish Chief Secretary) were converted to the belief that the union of the Irish and British Parliaments was necessary to prevent further rebellions. (2) A proposal for the Union was carried in the British Parliament, 1799, but rejected by the Irish Parliament. (3) The Irish government then resorted to bribery—by titles, pensions, buying up of ‘pocket’ boroughs, and promises of Catholic Emancipation—in order to secure Irish support.

2. The Act of Union passed by both Parliaments, 1800. *Chief terms:—*

- (1) Great Britain and Ireland to be one kingdom with one Parliament, to which Ireland should send 100 members of the Commons and 32 peers (four being bishops);
- (2) the Episcopal Churches of England and Ireland to be united;
- (3) freedom of trade to be established between the two countries;
- (4) Ireland to contribute two-seventeenths of the total revenue of the United Kingdom.

Note 1.—No further political rights were given to the Catholics (see *below*).

Note 2.—The first Parliament of the Union met at Westminster in January 1801.

3. **Results of the Union:** (1) The Union accepted by the Protestant minority; but the bulk of the nation dissatisfied owing to the withholding of Catholic Emancipation, and to the continuance of many agrarian and political grievances.

- (2) An agitation begun for repeal of the Union, lasting down to the present day.

IV. Resignation of Pitt, February 1801. *The Addington Ministry* (1801–4).

- i. **Pitt's failure to secure the promised Emancipation of Catholics**—*due to* the opposition of George III to any measure giving further relief to Catholics. Pitt and several colleagues consequently resigned; but they promised the king, in order to prevent his relapse into insanity, not to revive the question.

- ii. **The new Ministry:** *Addington* as Pitt's successor—First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Hawkesbury* (later Earl of Liverpool)—Foreign Secretary; and *Lord Eldon*—Lord Chancellor. The first important work accomplished by the ministry was the Peace of Amiens (*above*, II. vi).

E. THE WAR AGAINST NAPOLEON, 1803-15.

E₁. FIRST PERIOD: TILL NAPOLEON'S MILAN DECREES, 1803-7.

I. *The Short Peace, March 1802-May 1803.*

- i. **Napoleon's increase of power in France.** 1. *His scheme* to gain time by the Treaty of Amiens until he could strengthen his organization of the French nation, and secure his military control of the Continent; and then to overthrow Great Britain and establish France as the paramount power in Europe.

2. *His control of France*—strengthened when in December 1802 his Consulship (*antea*, D₂ I. *Note*, was confirmed to him for life; and secured when in May 1804 he was created 'Emperor of the French'.

Note.—He established his control of *Western Europe* when in December 1807, after the elimination of Germany, he completed his 'Continental System' by his Milan Decrees (*postea*, VI).

- ii. **Events leading to the renewal of war.** 1. Napoleon's annexation of Parma and Piedmont in 1802, and reorganization of the republics set up in N. Italy, Switzerland, and Holland.

2. Consequent British distrust of Napoleon's intentions, and refusal of the ministry to withdraw from Malta under the treaty.

3. Napoleon's demand for (1) the evacuation of Malta, and (2) the expulsion from England of all French royalist refugees. He also publicly insulted the British ambassador at one of his *levées*.

- iii. **Britain's declaration of War against France, May 1803**—to which Napoleon replied by arresting all Englishmen then in France (some 10,000).

Note.—The Napoleonic War differed in purpose from that of 1793. The latter had been begun against the revolutionary ideas and aims of the French Republic; the new war was begun to maintain the balance of power, and to secure Europe from the control of Napoleon.

II. *Events of the War, 1803-4: till Addington's Resignation.*

- i. **Napoleon's efforts against Britain in India and Ireland.** 1. *In India*—his agents incited the Mahrattas of Central India against

British rule, and the Second Mahratta War followed, 1802-5 (*below*, IV. i).

2. *In Ireland*—his agents incited *Robert Emmet* to revolt against the Union, July 1803. After a rising in Dublin Emmet was caught and executed.
- ii. **Napoleon's preparations for the Invasion of England, 1803-5**: by the gradual assembly of his 'Army of England' near Boulogne. In response, the ministry strengthened the navy and enrolled 350,000 volunteers to defend the coast.
- iii. **Resignation of Addington in favour of Pitt, May 1804**—in recognition of the latter's greater ability to cope with Napoleon. Pitt, however, had to promise the king not to reintroduce the question of Catholic Emancipation.

III. *Events during Pitt's Second Ministry, May 1804-January 1806.*

- i. **The new Ministry**: *Pitt*—as before; *Lord Mulgrave*—Foreign Secretary; *Addington*—made Lord Sidmouth, and President of the Council soon after.
- ii. **Alliance of Charles IV of Spain with Napoleon, October 1804**—followed by Spain's declaration of war on Britain.
- iii. **Pitt's Third Coalition against France, April 1805**—joined by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Both military and naval activity now increased.
- iv. **Britain triumphant at sea, 1805.**
 1. **Napoleon's scheme for invading England**: *Villeneuve* with a decoy-fleet was to draw *Nelson* away to the W. Indies, and then, quickly doubling back, to combine all the French and Spanish fleets, and hold the Channel while the Army of Boulogne crossed to England.
 2. **Failure of the scheme.** *Villeneuve* was successful in his first move, but on returning was encountered by *Calder* off **C. Finisterre** (July 22). He then retired to Corunna, and Napoleon angrily turned away his army against Austria. On reaching Europe again, *Nelson* with *Collingwood* gained an overwhelming victory over the combined French and Spanish fleets off **Cape Trafalgar** (October 21).
 3. **Results**: (1) *Nelson* was killed in the hour of victory, but *the French were powerless at sea for the rest of the war*, and (2) maritime and commercial supremacy were permanently secured to Britain.
- v. **Napoleon triumphant on land**—in a brilliant campaign against Austria.
 1. Marching the Grand Army from Boulogne he defeated the Austrians at **Ulm** (October 19), and the Austrians and Russians together at **Austerlitz** (December).

2. *Results* : (1) *Austria* was forced to make with him the *Peace of Pressburg* (December 26).
 - (2) *Prussia* was induced to make an alliance with France, and thus
 - (3) Napoleon was enabled to dominate all Western and Central Europe.
- vi. **Death of Pitt, January 23, 1806**—at the early age of 46.

Summary of his work. 1. *As a Peace Minister* : (1) his great success as a Parliamentary, as well as a Party, leader ; (2) his enlightened advocacy of Parliamentary and administrative reforms, and his successful financial reforms in the direction of Free-Trade ; (3) his great improvements in the government of India by his India Act ; (4) his achievement of the Parliamentary Union of Ireland with Great Britain.

2. *As a War Minister* : his coalitions against France and Napoleon, which, though successful only for a time, yet inspired his own countrymen with determination to carry their resistance to a successful issue.

Note.—After 1792 his reactionary home policy and his mismanagement of the war, especially on its military side, have been often adversely criticized. His great abilities, in fact, were suited to make him a much better peace minister than war minister.

3. *Constitutional results of his work* : (1) The system of ministerial government and the position of the Prime Minister were both strengthened, while ministerial responsibility to the king was correspondingly weakened ; (2) the system of controlling Parliament by bribery and corruption was finally abandoned.

IV. *Events leading to increase of Britain's Colonial Possessions, 1800-6.*

- i. **In India**—all Central India, in addition to the Ganges plain, brought under either British rule or British protection. This was due largely to *Lord Mornington*, governor general 1798-1805.
 1. **Mornington's system of subsidiary treaties**, by which native rulers had to pay subsidies to maintain native troops—under British officers—in or near their states. Refusal to accept British protection was generally followed by annexation wholly or in part.
 2. **The Second Mahratta War, 1802-3** (*antea*, II. i), won by the victories of *Sir Arthur Wellesley* (Mornington's brother) at **Assaye** and **Argaum** (both 1803), and of Lord Lake at **Laswaree** (November 1803). Mornington forced the Mahrattas to cede territory and to acknowledge the British supremacy.
- ii. **In South America**—Guiana captured from the Dutch, 1804, and several W. India islands from the Dutch and French.
- iii. **In South Africa**—the Cape of Good Hope recaptured from the Dutch, 1805, and British control established over the sea-route to India.

V. *Events from Pitt's Death to the Treaty of Tilsit, 1806-7.*

- i. **The Grenville Ministry, February 1806-March 1807:** called the 'Ministry of all the Talents', because a coalition of the most able men of both parties.

Chief Whigs: *Lord Grenville*—Prime Minister; *Fox*—Foreign Secretary; *Erskine*—Lord Chancellor. The chief Tory was *Lord Sidmouth*—Privy Seal.

- ii. **Fox's efforts to conclude a peace**—encouraged by Napoleon in order to gain time for his schemes against Prussia and Russia; and then rejected.
- iii. **Death of Fox, September 1806**—after some six months of office.
- iv. **Establishment of Napoleon's supremacy over Central Europe, 1806-7.**

1. His brother, *Joseph Bonaparte*, set up as King of Naples, April 1806, and his brother *Louis* as King of Holland, in June 1806.

2. **The Confederation of the Rhine** formed, July 1806, of all the German states bordering on the Rhine, with himself as 'Protector'. *Results:* (1) The ancient title of 'Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire' abolished by Francis II of Austria, to prevent Napoleon adopting it; and the title of 'Emperor of Austria' assumed instead. (2) War declared against France by Prussia (October 1806), alarmed for her own independence.

3. **Prussia overthrown** by Napoleon at **Jena** and **Auerstadt** (both October 14), and Berlin entered two weeks later. Thence he issued his famous **Berlin Decrees** in November (see VI. i, *below*).

4. **Britain's efforts against France wasted** in futile expeditions to Sicily and S. Italy in 1806 (useless British victory of **Maida**, July), and to Turkey, Egypt, and Buenos Ayres in 1807.

5. **Russia overthrown** by Napoleon at **Friedland** (June 1807), and the *Treaty of Tilsit* made with the Czar Alexander (July 1807). *Terms:* (1) A new Kingdom of Westphalia, under *Jerome Bonaparte*, formed of Hanover and West Prussia; (2) Prussian Poland given to Russia and Saxony; (3) secret agreement made by the Czar to join France against Britain, and to aid in forcing Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to do so after December 1.

- v. **Events in Britain during 1807.**
 1. **Abolition of the Slave Trade**, March 1807, by Parliament—through the efforts of **Wilberforce** and **Clarkson**. All trade in slaves was abolished everywhere under British jurisdiction; but the movement against *slavery itself* continued until the Emancipation of Slaves Act, 1833 (*postea*, p. 288).
 2. **Fall of the Grenville Ministry, March 1807**—dismissed by George III for attempting to open up the army and navy to Catholics.

3. **The Portland Ministry (Tory), March 1807–September 1809:**
Duke of Portland—Prime Minister; *George Canning*—Foreign Secretary; *Spencer Perceval*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Castlereagh*—War and Colonial Secretary; and others.

VI. *Napoleon's Two Schemes to crush Britain, 1806–7.*

- i. **His Continental System and its results.** The System—a scheme for excluding all British commerce from the *Continent* through his Berlin and Milan Decrees, and thus ruining Britain, his only remaining opponent, by economic pressure.

1. **The Berlin Decrees, November 1806**, issued after his victory at Jena (*above*): (1) The British Isles declared to be in a state of blockade; (2) the goods of British subjects to be confiscated; and (3) France and her allies forbidden to deal with either Britain or her colonies.

2. **Britain's retaliatory 'Orders in Council'**, issued during 1807, declaring the blockade of all the ports of France and her allies, and forbidding neutral vessels, not having first touched at a British port, to enter them.

Note.—The United States, as neutral, were the chief sufferers by these orders.

3. **The Milan Decrees, December 1807**—issued by Napoleon from Milan, declaring all vessels touching at a British port to be lawful prizes.
4. *Some results of the Continental System*: (1) A great increase in the prices of goods on the Continent, and consequent popular anger and hostility roused against Napoleon; (2) an increased ill-feeling in the United States against Great Britain, developing into the war of 1812 (*postea*, E₂ VI).
- ii. **Napoleon's second scheme**—to employ against Britain the fleet of Denmark, and to close to British trade the coasts of Spain and Portugal.
1. **His design on the Danish fleet thwarted, September 1807**—by the British bombardment of **Copenhagen** (refer *antea*, D₂ II. v), and the removal of the Danish fleet to England. Denmark now joined France and Russia against Britain.
2. **His designs on the Iberian Peninsula resisted**—in the Peninsular War (*below*).

E₂. SECOND PERIOD: THE PENINSULAR WAR, AND EVENTS LEADING TO NAPOLEON'S DOWNFALL, 1808–14.

I. *The First Stage of the Peninsular War, 1808–9.*

- i. **Causes of the War**: (1) *French occupation of Portugal*, November 1807, consequent on the Portuguese not carrying out his Continental System against Britain. The Portuguese royal family now fled to Brazil. (2) *Napoleon's seizure of the Spanish crown for his*

brother *Joseph*, after having gained possession of Charles IV and Ferdinand his son at Bayonne. The Spaniards now rose in arms.

Note.—For the first time on the Continent Napoleon was opposed by a *national* resistance. But soon, provoked by his harsh Continental System and his unscrupulous ambition, other nations followed the example of Spain; and a series of events began which ended in his downfall.

ii. The First Period of the Peninsular War, 1808-9.

1. *Events of 1808.* (1) **Sir Arthur Wellesley** (*antea*, E₁ IV) sent with 20,000 men to Portugal—the largest British force sent to the Continent since 1450. (2) Wellesley's victory over *Junot* at *Vimiero* (August) in Portugal. He was however, superseded by Generals Burrard and Dalrymple, who made with the French—(3) *The Convention of Cintra*, which allowed the French to withdraw from Portugal on favourable terms. The consequent indignation in England caused **Sir John Moore** to be given command, and the other generals withdrawn. (4) **Moore's campaign from Lisbon** towards Madrid—planned to draw the French from the south, whither Napoleon had marched in November. Moore succeeded in his object, and then retired NW. towards Corunna, pursued first by Napoleon, then by *Soult* with a much larger army.
2. *Events of 1809.* (1) Moore's victory and death (January 16) at **Corunna**, which he had reached after effecting a most brilliant retreat. (2) Return of Wellesley to Portugal (April) in chief command.

II. Austria's futile Renewal of War against France, 1809.

- i. *Events.* 1. War declared by Austria (April), and the German people appealed to for support.
2. **Napoleon's victorious campaign in Austria.** (1) Bavaria overrun by him, but the Austrians victorious at **Aspern** near Vienna (May). (2) The Austrians overwhelmed at **Wagram** (July) and forced to make peace (October).

Note.—He now divorced his wife Josephine, and later married the Emperor of Austria's daughter, Marie Louise.

- ii. **British Expedition to Walcheren I. (July-December 1809)**—to aid the Austrians by an attack on Antwerp as a diversion in their behalf. Though **Flushing** was captured, yet owing to gross mismanagement nothing else was achieved, and thousands of soldiers died from disease.

III. Second Stage of the Peninsular War, 1809-12.

- i. **Wellesley's military scheme in the Peninsula:** (1) to organize Portugal as a base from which, having safe communication by sea with England, he could enter Spain; (2) to expel the French from

the peninsula with native aid; or otherwise prolong the war and make it a constant drain on Napoleon's resources.

ii. **Further events of 1809** (refer to I. ii, *above*).

- (1) Wellesley's victory over *Soult* at **Oporto** (July), expelling the French from Portugal. (2) His great victory over *Victor* at **Talavera** (July 27-8), but withdrawal into Portugal on *Soult* coming up. *Wellesley was now made Viscount Wellington.*

iii. **Events of 1810.** (1) **The Triple Lines of Torres Vedras** constructed by Wellington during the winter of 1809-10 across the Lisbon promontory. (2) *Masséna* defeated at **Busaco** (September) by Wellington, who then retired south. (3) Wellington attacked behind his lines of Torres Vedras by the French (October-March), when they retreated to Spain through lack of provisions.

iv. **Events of 1811.** (1) Graham's victory over the French at **Saragossa** (March). (2) Wellington's victory over *Masséna* at **Fuentes d'Onoro** (May). (3) Beresford's victory over *Soult* at **Albuera** (May), but withdrawal from Badajoz. (4) Wellington's renewed siege of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, two frontier fortresses.

Note.—In the autumn of 1811 Napoleon withdrew part of his troops from Spain to prepare for his attack on Russia (see V, *below*). Wellington was therefore more successful in Spain next year.

v. **Events of 1812.** (1) **Ciudad Rodrigo** captured (January), and **Badajoz** (April). (2) Marmont defeated at **Salamanca** (July) and Madrid entered by Wellington. (3) His troops withdrawn from siege of Burgos into Portugal, on the approach of the main French army. [For final stage of the War, see V. iii, *below*.]

IV. *British Domestic Affairs, 1809-12.*

i. **Formation of the Perceval Ministry (1809-12).** 1. Resignation of *Canning* and *Castlereagh* after a quarrel over the failure of the Walcheren expedition, 1809 (see II, *above*). Portland resigned soon afterwards.

2. **The new Ministry**—a Tory one, consisting of: *Spencer Perceval*—Prime Minister; *Marquis of Wellesley* (formerly Lord Mornington)—Foreign Secretary; *Lord Liverpool*—War and Colonial Secretary; and others.

ii. **Permanent insanity of George III, 1810-20:** following on the death of Princess Amelia (November 1810), his favourite daughter. A *Regency Act* was then passed, appointing **George, Prince of Wales**, as Regent.

iii. **The Liverpool Ministry (1812-27):** formed owing to the assassination of Perceval (May 2).

The new ministry (Tory) included *Lord Liverpool*—Prime Minister; *Castlereagh*—Foreign Secretary; *Lord Sidmouth*—Home Secretary; and *Lord Palmerston*—War Secretary.

Note.—Of the two great constitutional questions of the day, *Parlia-*

mentary Reform was opposed by the new ministry; but *Catholic Emancipation* was left open.

- iv. **Reform Agitations and Machinery Riots.** 1. Widespread agitations made during this period for reforms dealing with Parliament, religion, criminal laws, labour conditions, the prison system, and other matters. They were all futile—partly owing to the prolonged war, but more to the dominating control held by the landed interests over both Parliament and the administration.
2. **The Luddite Riots of 1811–16**, amongst the labouring classes in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Nottingham against the use of improved textile machinery in place of hand-labour. Great distress existed among the masses as the result of the high prices of food, low wages, and the exhausting war; but the workers believed it to result from the introduction of machinery. During several years organized bands of self-styled '*Luddites*' broke into many factories and destroyed the machinery.

V. Continental Events leading to Napoleon's Abdication, 1812–14.

- i. **Napoleon's invasion of Russia, 1812.** 1. *Cause*: the Czar Alexander's withdrawal (1811) from his alliance with France owing to the injury done to Russian trade by the Continental System.
2. *Events*: (1) Napoleon's victory at **Borodino** and entry into Moscow (September). (2) **Moscow** burnt by the Russians, compelling him to retreat after an indecisive campaign. Of his army, 400,000 had perished when the remnant reached Prussia in January 1813.
- ii. **The War of Liberation, 1813**—begun by Prussia, Russia, and (later) Austria, in alliance against France. Napoleon twice defeated the allies in Saxony; but after an indecisive battle at **Dresden** (August) he was overwhelmed at **Leipzig** (October) in the 'Battle of the Nations'.
- iii. **The Third and Final Stage of the Peninsular War, 1813–14**: in which Wellington was better supported by his government.
 1. *In 1813*: he defeated Joseph Bonaparte at **Vittoria** (June), captured **San Sebastian** (July), defeated Soult at **Pampeluña** (August), and drove the French armies out of Spain over the Pyrenees.
 2. *In 1814*: he defeated Soult at **Orthès** (February) and captured **Bayonne**. He then besieged **Toulouse**, and captured it on April 10.
- iv. **Fall and exile of Napoleon.** 1. Invasion of France by the allies, followed by their entry into Paris, March 31. Napoleon now abdicated, and was allowed to retire to **Elba**.
2. **The First Treaty of Paris (April 3).** *Chief terms*:
 - (1) Louis XVIII (brother of Louis XVI) to become King of France, the French boundaries being restricted to those of 1792. (2) A Con-

gress of the Powers to meet at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe.

VI. *The War between Great Britain and the United States, 1812-14.*

i. **Cause:** the British Orders in Council 1807 (*antea*, E₁ VI), and the rigorous exercise of Britain's rights of search over American vessels. War was declared by the States, June 1812.

ii. **Events of the War.** 1. *At sea:* the fighting was confined mostly to duels between single ships (e.g. between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, June 1813), in which the Americans were generally superior.

2. *On land:* (1) Several *American* expeditions were sent to attack Canada 1812-13, which proved in the end complete failures. (2) Two *British* expeditions were sent to America, 1814:—(a) One under *General Ross*, who was victorious at **Bladensburg** and **Washington** and burnt the White House; (b) the other to the southern states under *General Pakenham*, who was defeated at **New Orleans** (January 1815).

iii. **Peace concluded by the Treaty of Ghent, December 14, 1814**—owing to the fall of Napoleon.

Results of the war: (1) The States were shown to be a new naval power of importance; (2) American ill-will towards Great Britain was increased.

E₃. THIRD PERIOD: THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON, 1814-15.

I. *The Eleven Months' Peace, April 1814-March 1815.*

i. **The Congress of Vienna**—an assembly of representatives of the Great Powers, met to attempt to restore the balance of power in Europe. Quarrels occurred, however, Russia's claim to Poland, and those of Prussia to Saxony, being opposed by Great Britain, Austria, and France.

ii. **Escape of Napoleon from Elba, March 1, 1815**—while the Congress was sitting. He entered Paris (March 6), causing Louis XVIII to flee to Belgium.

II. *The Second Napoleonic War, 1815.*

i. **The Fifth Coalition** formed by the Great Powers—who ceased quarrelling, and prepared for action against the common enemy.

ii. **The Campaign of Waterloo.** 1. **Plan of the Allies**—to invade France at different points, and concentrate on Paris. (1) *Wellington*, now a duke, was sent with a British army to join an army of Hanoverians and others in Belgium. (2) *Marshal Blücher* with

a Prussian army was to join him in an advance up the Sambre valley into France. (3) An Austro-Russian army was to enter France from the east.

2. **Napoleon's plan**—to overthrow Wellington and Blücher separately before they could join forces in Belgium.

3. *Events*: (1) At **Ligny** (June 16) Napoleon defeated Blücher, who then retired to Wavre; but (2) at **Quatre Bras** (same day) his other army under *Ney* was successfully checked by Wellington, who then retired towards Brussels. (3) At **Waterloo** (June 18) Wellington repelled Napoleon's attacks all day; and then, being joined by Blücher from Wavre, they completely put the French to flight.

iii. **Close of the War.** 1. Entry of the Allies into Paris (July 7), and flight of Napoleon to Rochefort, where he surrendered to an English war-vessel.

2. Napoleon's second abdication, and banishment for life to **St. Helena**. There he died a prisoner in 1821.

Note.—The period of Napoleon's renewed Empire is called 'The Hundred Days'.

iv. **The Second Treaty of Paris:**

- (1) Louis XVIII was restored. (2) France was to be restricted to her boundaries of 1790, to pay a war indemnity, and to restore the art-treasures stolen by Napoleon from other countries.

III. *The resumed Congress of Vienna, and the Holy Alliance, 1815.*

i. **Settlement of Europe by the Congress**—in the various *Treaties of Vienna*.

1. *In the Peninsula*—the former dynasties restored, Ferdinand VII being king of Spain.
2. *In Italy*—the old states and rulers restored under Austrian influence, and Milan and Venice also ceded to Austria.
3. *In the Netherlands*—Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland made into one kingdom under Prince William of Orange.
4. *Sweden and Norway*—made into one kingdom with separate governments.
5. *In Central Europe*: (1) *A German Confederation of thirty-eight states* formed, with the Austrian Emperor as President. (2) *Prussia* received Pomerania and the Rhine Provinces, thus gaining such a position in the Confederation as ultimately enabled her to be the successful rival of Austria (*postea*, pp. 308, 311).
6. *Russia*—received Finland and Poland (the latter to have a separate government), and henceforward she wielded an important influence in Central Europe.

7. *Great Britain*—retained Malta and Heligoland; also Cape Colony, Ceylon and Demerara (taken from Holland); with Mauritius, Tobago, and St. Lucia (from France).
- ii. **The Holy Alliance, 1815**—formed by the Czar Alexander I between Russia, Prussia, and Austria for the *avowed* purpose of regulating their conduct as rulers according to the principles of Christianity.

Note.—Another object, not openly avowed, was to prevent the spread of those democratic principles (*Liberalism*) which the Revolution had promulgated.

IV. *Some Effects of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Periods.*

- i. **On Europe generally.**
 1. On the one hand, a *reaction* by the *rulers* of Europe to the old conditions and forms of autocratic government, the leader in this movement being *Metternich*, the Austrian Chancellor.
 2. On the other hand, the general spread among the *nations* of the spirit of freedom and equality, along with the desire for *national* governments.
 3. A consequent long period of contention between the nations and their rulers *for and against* (1) the political union of kindred peoples, and (2) the establishment of popular forms of government by parliaments.
- ii. **On Great Britain.**
 1. **External:** (1) An important increase in her colonial possessions. (2) The permanent establishment of her naval, maritime, and commercial supremacy. (3) The cessation of the long rivalry between France and Britain by the close of the Second Hundred Years' War; and the beginning of Britain's suspicions of *Russian* policy—first concerning Turkey, then India and the Far East.
 2. **Domestic:** (1) *During the Wars*—a large growth in her manufactures and commerce; an inflation of the prices of agricultural produce; an increased demand for labour with but little or no corresponding rise in wages; and a fifty-years' check to the movement for Parliamentary reforms. (2) *Immediately following the Wars*—a decade of the greatest economic and social *distress* known perhaps in our history; a still longer period of *reaction* in political government; and a consequent violent *agitation* for Parliamentary reforms.

P. THE REACTIONARY CLOSE OF THE REIGN, 1815-20.

I. *Economic Distress and Administrative Reaction following the Peace.*

- i. **Chief causes of the distress.**
 1. The great decrease alike in agricultural production, in manufactures, and in trade following on the resumption in Continental countries of their farming and industries after the close of the Wars. There was a consequent fall in prices

and wages, and a loss of employment to thousands of the farming and industrial classes in Britain.

2. The passing of a *new Corn-Law* in 1815 by the government—to benefit farmers by preventing the importation of foreign corn until English corn had risen to 80s. per quarter.
 3. The heavy taxation to pay for the cost of the Wars.
 4. The bad harvests of 1816 and later years.
- ii. **Reactionary Tory policy of the Liverpool Ministry** (now really led by Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary)—to oppose all measures of economic and political reform which the distress and consequent unrest of the masses urgently required.

II. *Agitations, Riots, and Repression, 1816–19.*

- i. **Widespread agitations for Reform of Parliamentary Representation**—as one chief means of dealing with the distress. *The moderate Reformers* were led in Parliament by Lord Grey, Lord Brougham, Sir Francis Burdett, and, later, Lord John Russell. *The Radicals and extreme Reformers* were led by 'Orator' Hunt, William Cobbett (in his paper, *The Weekly Register*), Major Cartwright, and others outside Parliament.

Note.—The object of all the reformers was to establish—though in varying degrees—a national control over the government and administration, through a properly *representative* Parliament. The ideals of nationality, political freedom, and equality of the laws for all classes promulgated by the French Revolution had stirred the whole nation, and the terrible distress resulting from the Wars caused the reform movement to be renewed with increased energy. Yet in 1817 Burdett's motion for Parliamentary reform was easily defeated in the Commons; in 1818 his motion for annual Parliaments and manhood suffrage received no support; in 1819 Russell's resolutions were also defeated. Outside Parliament, however, the agitation gained ground rapidly (see further, *postea*, p. 287).

- ii. **The Riots of 1816–17.** 1. *Those of 1816:* (1) Renewal of the anti-machinery riots of the Luddites (see *antea*, E₂ IV). (2) Rick-burning riots in the eastern counties. (3) **The Spa-Field Riots** in London (December), suppressed by the Lord Mayor.
2. *Those of 1817:* (1) **March of the 'Blanketeers'**—an attempt of Manchester workers, carrying blankets for outdoor sleeping, to reach London (March). They were dispersed on the way. (2) **The Derbyshire Insurrection** (June)—suppressed by the execution of several ringleaders.
3. **The repressive measures of the Government, 1817**—included the suspension of Habeas Corpus, prohibition of seditious meetings, and other extreme steps.

iii. **The important events of 1819.** 1. Recurrence of distress (through bad harvests), and renewal of the reform agitations.

2. **The 'Peterloo' Massacre (August)**—the result of a body of Yeomanry and Hussars charging into a huge reform-meeting while it was being addressed by 'Orator' Hunt in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester. Many were killed or injured.

3. **The Six Acts, December 1819**—passed by the government to strengthen the hands of the authorities.

They were intended to prevent: (1) delay of justice, (2) private drilling, (3) the use of arms in certain counties, (4) seditious libels; (5) to regulate public meetings; and (6) to restrain the Press.

4. **The Resumption of Cash Payments.** (Refer *antea*, D, IV.)

III. *Foreign Affairs, 1815-20.*

i. **Suppression of the Barbary Pirates by Great Britain, 1816**—undertaken with the sanction of the Great Powers. Algiers was bombarded by Lord Exmouth; over 1,000 Christian slaves were released; and all traffic in such was abolished.

ii. **Congress of the Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818:** at which (1) the withdrawal of the allied armies from France was agreed upon; and (2) the alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France was made—ostensibly to suppress rebellions, but really to suppress Liberalism in Europe.

IV. *Summary of the Reign of George III.*

i. **Death of the King, January 29, 1820**—after being insane since 1812.

ii. **Chief features of the reign.** 1. *In foreign affairs:* (1) The isolation of Britain in Europe consequent on the Seven Years' War. (2) The successful rebellion of the American colonies, aided by the three chief maritime powers of Europe. (3) The French Revolution and its enormous influence both upon the continent and upon the British Isles: (a) in the spread of the spirit of political freedom and reform among the nations, and (b) in the combined efforts of the ruling classes to suppress that spirit. (4) The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the latter closing the Second Hundred Years' War.

2. *In internal affairs:* (1) The break-up of the Whig supremacy by George III; followed by his control of both Ministry and Parliament for nearly twenty years. (2) The later development of the *Party System* into *new sections*:—(a) rise of the *Radical Party* (1769-1806) under Wilkes, Horne Tooke, and later leaders; (b) formation of the *New Whig Party* (1794) led by Fox and Sheridan (which after 1820 developed into the *modern Liberal Party*); and (c) junction of the Old Whigs with the Tories (1794) under Pitt and Portland (which after 1820 developed into the *modern Conservative Party*). (3) The foundation of a new school of political and economic thought by

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). (4) The development of *England* from an agricultural into a manufacturing country—caused by the Industrial Revolution. (5) The increase in numbers and power of (a) the Middle Classes, and (b) the Press.

3. *In colonial affairs*: (1) Loss of the American colonies, mitigated by the loyalty of Canada. (2) Foundation of the Australian colonies. (3) Spread of British power and supremacy in India. (4) Acquisition of Cape Colony and many smaller possessions, from Holland and France.

Note.—To George III's personal character were due:—(1) the abrupt closing of the Seven Years' War; (2) the break-up of the old Whig party, and the revival of the Tory party; (3) the loss of the American colonies; and (4) the delay in granting religious freedom to Catholics, and the consequent renewal of Irish difficulties after the Union.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE IV, 1820-1830

- (i) **CHARACTER OF GEORGE IV.** The new king having been already Regent for nine years, there was no real change of government. George was well known as having the manners of a gentleman, and the habits of a roué. He was extravagant, intemperate, immoral, and, in the pursuit of his own pleasures, quite careless of the nation's resources.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** He had no policy. He was as much against reforms as his father had been; but, lacking his moral courage, he was forced by his various ministers to accept their policy.
- (iii) **THE MINISTRIES OF GEORGE IV.**
1. The Liverpool Ministry, 1812-27.
 2. The Canning Ministry, February-August 1827.
 3. The Goderich Ministry, August 1827-January 1828.
 4. The Wellington Ministry, January 1828-November 1830.

A. CONTINUANCE OF THE REACTION TILL CASTLEREAGH'S DEATH, 1820-2.

I. *The Liverpool Ministry in danger and alienated.*

- i. **The Cato Street Conspiracy (February 1820)**—to murder the Cabinet ministers, and set up a provisional government like that of the French revolutionaries. It was discovered in time, and five ringleaders, including Thistlewood, were hanged.
- ii. **Antipathy of George IV to his queen, Caroline**—whom he

sought to divorce (after a separation of many years) by a Parliamentary bill which he persuaded the ministry to introduce. Caroline returned to England (June) to obtain recognition of her position as Queen; and her popular welcome at length forced the government to withdraw the bill. Both king and ministry were discredited by the public agitation against them until Caroline's death in 1821.

II. *Foreign Affairs, 1820-2.*

- i. **Risings in Spain, Naples, and Portugal.** 1. *In Spain*: military insurrection in 1820, followed by Ferdinand VII's forced acceptance of constitutional government.

Note.—In South America the Spanish colonies had been struggling for years to gain independence. Chili succeeded in 1818, and Mexico in 1821.

2. *In Naples and in Portugal*, similar constitutions were forcibly established in 1820.

- ii. **Congresses of the Holy Alliance at Troppau and Laibach, 1821**, after which—(1) *Austria* intervened in Naples and restored despotism there; and (2) *France and Austria* intervened to help Ferdinand VII against his people. Civil war followed in Spain till 1823.

III. *Harbingers of a new period of Progress in Britain, 1820-2.*

- i. **The dawn of Reform**—as the fear of revolution declined. (1) The movement *for a system of national education* was begun by **Lord Brougham**, 1820. (2) The movement *for a reform in the criminal laws*, begun by **Romilly** 1808-18, was renewed by **Sir James Mackintosh**, 1820 (*below*, B₁ II. iii). (3) The *disfranchisement of Grampound*, a 'rotten' borough in Cornwall, was secured by **Lord John Russell**, 1821, and its two seats added to those of Yorkshire. But (4) a Relief Bill for Catholic peers was rejected by the Lords, April 1822.

ii. **Changes in the Ministry, 1821-2.**

1. **Robert Peel made Home Secretary, 1821**—in place of Sidmouth.

Note.—Though a strong Tory, Peel's sense of justice, and his sympathetic nature, led him to be much more on the side of reform than on that of reaction.

2. **Canning made Foreign Secretary, August 1822**—after the suicide of Castlereagh (who had become Marquis of Londonderry in 1821).

Note.—Castlereagh, as real leader of the government, had long been extremely unpopular with the nation at large. His death dealt a mortal blow to the cause of reaction and old-fashioned Toryism, in both domestic and foreign affairs.

B. BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORM ERA, 1822-30.**B₁. THE FOREIGN SECRETARYSHIP OF CANNING, 1822-7.****I. *The Change in Britain's Foreign Policy, and its Results, 1822-7.***

- i. **Canning's Foreign Policy**—to dissociate Great Britain entirely from the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance and its supporters, and *to countenance everywhere the cause of nationalities against despotic government.*

Note.—Canning greatly influenced domestic affairs also. He infused a more progressive spirit into the ministry; he advocated a gradual abandonment of the protective system in commerce, and supported Catholic Emancipation. But he opposed Parliamentary reform.

ii. His action regarding Spain and Portugal, 1822-6. 1. Spain:

(1) He withdrew the British representative from *the Congress of Verona* (1822), when the Powers put aside the Greek question to interfere in Spain. (2) He strongly protested when a French army, in behalf of the Powers, restored Ferdinand VII to his despotic position in 1823. (3) He boldly recognized (1823), in defiance of the Powers, the independence of the Spanish American colonies which had revolted from Spain; and (4) he strongly approved (1823) the doctrine of the United States President—**Monroe**—against the active intervention of Europe in the New World.

2. **Portugal.** He dispatched a British fleet to the Tagus (1826) to enforce the withdrawal of French and Spanish troops sent to enthrone the despotic **Dom Miguel** (*postea*, p. 279).

iii. **His action regarding Greece, 1822-7.** (1) The Greek revolt from Turkish rule, begun 1821, had been actively aided by many British and other European volunteers, and Canning had urged, but vainly, the intervention of the Powers at the Congress of Verona (*above*). (2) In 1826 Greece was overrun by the Sultan's vassal, **Mehemet Ali**, Pasha of Egypt, in his behalf. (3) The appeal of the Greeks to Britain was responded to by Canning negotiating with France and Russia to help them. The result was

- (4) **The Treaty of London, July 1827** (made by Canning as Prime Minister), by which Great Britain, France, and Russia agreed on joint intervention in behalf of Greek independence (see *below*, B₂ I. ii).

II. *The Change in Britain's Domestic Policy, 1822-7.*

- i. **Further ministerial changes towards a progressive policy, 1823**
—greatly diminishing public discontent.

- (1) *Frederick Robinson* (later made *Lord Goderich*) was appointed Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, and (2) *William Huskisson*, President of the Council for Trade.

- ii. **Huskisson's commercial reforms, 1823-6**: a resumption of the younger Pitt's policy of removing restrictions upon Britain's foreign trade (*antea*, pp. 252, 256).

- (1) *The Navigation Acts* were largely nullified (1823) by the *Reciprocity of Duties Act*, which enacted that the ships of any foreign nation, on entering British ports, should have equal advantages with British ships regarding duties—provided that such nation allowed the same advantage to British ships entering its own ports. (2) The import duties on wool, raw silk, and other articles were greatly reduced, and many bounties on exports abolished (1824).

Note.—He also repealed the old laws against the combination of workmen and their freedom of movement. This made possible the formation of trades unions, though such unions were not legalized until 1871 (*postea*, p. 311).

- iii. **Peel's reforms in the Criminal Laws, 1823-4**: taken up through the advocacy of Mackintosh (*antea*, A. III. i). There were over 200 crimes, really slight offences, for which the penalty of hanging could be inflicted by law. More than half of these were abolished by Peel, but they were not all repealed till 1845.

- iv. **Resignation of Lord Liverpool, February 1827** (owing to illness): followed by a split of the Tories into two sections—the Old Tories, and the New Tories or Canningites. The latter favoured a Liberal foreign policy, as well as Catholic Emancipation and other domestic reforms.

B₂. THE MINISTRIES OF CANNING, GODERICH, AND WELLINGTON, 1827-30.

I. *The Canning and the Goderich Ministers, 1827-8.*

- i. **The Premiership of Canning, February-August 1827.** 1. **Chief members** of his ministry:

Canning—First Lord of Treasury and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Lyndhurst*—Lord Chancellor; with *Huskisson*, *Lord Goderich* (Robinson), *Lord Palmerston*, and others. Peel and Wellington refused to join the ministry.

2. **The Treaty of London, July 1827**, to promote Greek independence (see *above*, B₁ I. iii).

3. **Death of Canning, August 1827**, before Greek freedom had been obtained.

- ii. **The Goderich Ministry, August 1827-January 1828.**

1. **Chief members**: those of its predecessor, with a few Tories added.

2. **The Battle of Navarino, October 20, 1827**, in which the allied

fleet of British, French, and Russian ships under *Admiral Codrington* almost entirely destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet under *Ibrahim Pasha*.

Result :—Greek independence made probable. (It was recognized in 1829 : see *below*, II. iii.)

3. **Goderich's resignation, January 1828**—owing to inability to control his ministers from quarrelling over the victory of Navarino, which the Old Tories disliked.

II. *The Wellington Ministry and Foreign Affairs, 1828-30.*

- i. **The new ministry.** (1) *Tories* : *Wellington*—First Lord and Prime Minister ; *Peel*—Home Secretary ; *Lyndhurst*—Lord Chancellor. (2) *Canningites* : *Huskisson*, *Palmerston*, *Grant*, and *Lamb* (afterwards Lord Melbourne).
- ii. **Wellington's foreign policy**—based on his profound distrust of popular government at home and abroad—was to keep Great Britain from being involved in the continental complications and unrest of the time. He therefore withheld British intervention in the affairs both of Greece and Portugal.
- iii. **The Russo-Turkish War, 1828-9** : begun by the Sultan on account of Russian help given to his Christian subjects. It was concluded by the *Treaty of Adrianople*, 1829, through which the Sultan was forced to grant independence not only to Greece but also to Moldavia and Wallachia.
- iv. **Wellington's refusal of aid to restore Queen Maria of Portugal** to her throne—which had been usurped (June 1828) by her despotic uncle Dom Miguel (*postea*, p. 290).

III. *The Wellington Ministry and Domestic Affairs, 1828-30.*

- i. **Wellington's attitude towards Reform.** Though always a Tory of the old school in his steady resistance to all kinds of change, he yet accepted many measures of reform rather than incur the dangers of civil disturbances.
- ii. **Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, 1828** (refer *antea*, pp. 185, 189). Lord John Russell's motion for the repeal was bitterly opposed, but was at length passed by means of a compromise with Wellington.

Note.—In May 1828 *Huskisson* resigned office on a side issue. He was soon followed by the other Canningites, and the ministry then became entirely Tory.

- iii. **Agitation under O'Connell for Catholic Emancipation, 1822-9.**

1. **The Catholic Association** to obtain emancipation, formed 1823 by

Daniel O'Connell, an Irish Catholic lawyer. He was supported by all Ireland outside Protestant Ulster; and the Association became all-powerful. The government had to suppress it in 1825; but it merely took another form, and maintained its power.

- **O'Connell elected as M.P. for Clare, 1828**, despite his ineligibility as a Catholic. It was now clear to Wellington and Peel that further to resist the agitation would involve civil war, so the Lords were induced to pass a Relief Bill, though they had rejected four similar measures since 1821.

- iv. **The Catholic Emancipation Act, May 1829**—which admitted Catholics to Parliament, and also to all other public offices, civil and military, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Note.—O'Connell, re-elected to Parliament, at once started a new agitation for the *repeal of the Union*—a movement known later as **the Home Rule movement**.

- v. **Death of George IV, June 26, 1830**—after several years' suffering from the physical consequences of his excesses.

IV. *Summary of the Chief Features of the Reign.*

- i. **In foreign affairs.** (1) The beginning, under Canning, of Great Britain's active sympathy with the aspirations of smaller states and oppressed nationalities towards freedom and popular government. (2) The attempts of the reactionary Great Powers to rule Europe by congresses. (3) The rise into prominence of **the 'Eastern Question'**, i.e. the difficulties connected with the rule of Turkey in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor (*postea*, 1840, 1853-6, 1878, &c.).
- ii. **In internal affairs.** (1) The end of the long period of domestic reaction and repression, and *the beginning of the great Reform Era*. (2) The abolition of religious disqualifications for Parliament and for state and municipal offices. (3) The spread of more humane feelings among the people generally, and the consequent efforts to ameliorate suffering, and to reform the criminal laws.

ADDENDUM TO BOOK IX

SUMMARY OF THE EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1760-1830.

- (i) **IN EUROPE.** (1) Malta—*taken from the French*, 1800.
- (2) Heligoland—*taken from Denmark*, 1807. (Ceded by Britain to Germany, 1890.)
- (ii) **IN AMERICA.**
 - 1. **Acquired by conquest:** (1) *Ceded by Treaty of Paris*, 1763, Canada, Nova Scotia, C. Breton I., Prince Edward I. (*N. America*); Granada,

Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica (*W. Indies*). (2) *Taken from Spain*: Trinidad, 1797; British Honduras, 1798. (3) *Taken from Holland*: British Guiana (Demerara), 1804.

2. **Acquired by settlement**: (1) New Brunswick, 1761; (2) Red River Settlement (Manitoba), 1812.

(iii) IN AFRICA.

1. **By conquest**: (1) Cape Colony (*from the Dutch*), 1805; (2) Mauritius (*from the French*), 1810.

2. **By settlement**: (1) Sierra Leone (*from native chiefs*), 1787; (2) Gold Coast, 1750 and 1821; (3) Ascension I., occupied 1815.

(iv) IN ASIA.

1. **In India—all by conquest**: (1) The Carnatic, 1761; (2) Bengal, Behar and Orissa, 1765; (3) Mysore and Southern India, 1790-9 (refer *antea*, p. 259); (4) The Upper Ganges Plain (Delhi, Agra, &c), and Central India, 1795-1805. (*antea*, pp. 259, 264); (5) Nepaul (part of), 1814; (6) Assam and Lower Burmah (*annexed after the First Burmese War*, 1823-6).

2. **Outside India**. (a) **By conquest**: Ceylon and Malacca (*from the Dutch*), 1795. (b) **By settlement**: (1) Penang (or Prince of Wales I., *ceded by native ruler*), 1786; (2) Wellesley Province (*ceded by native ruler*), 1798; (3) Singapore (*purchased*), 1819.

(v) IN AUSTRALASIA: all acquired by settlement.

1. New South Wales—*founded as a penal settlement*, 1788, and the first Australian colony.

2. Tasmania—*founded as a penal settlement*, 1803, under N.S. Wales; separate colony, 1812.

3. Queensland—*founded like Tasmania*, 1826; separate colony, 1859.

4. Western Australia—*colonized*, 1829.

5. Victoria—*colonized*, 1835.

6. South Australia—*colonized*, 1836.

7. New Zealand—*colonized* under N.S. Wales, 1839; but made separate colony, 1841.

BOOK X

THE FIFTH PERIOD OF MODERN ENGLAND: THE ERA OF REFORM UNDER MIDDLE- CLASS RULE AND ADOLESCENT DEMO- CRACY, 1830-1910

EVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF BOOK X

(i) RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. Greatly increased fusion of the people of these islands with each other, through (1) their complete political union, (2) the Industrial Revolution, (3) the spread of education, learning, and literature, (4) the freedom of commercial intercourse, and (5) the ease of intercommunication.

2. Increased flow of British and Irish to all parts of the colonies, through the rapid expansion of the Empire and of inter-trade.

(ii) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT : greatly accelerated by scientific discoveries, mechanical inventions, and the democratization of wealth.

1. **The Land.** (1) The *break-up of the land-monopoly made possible*, as an indirect result of the three Reform Acts [ch. I, p. 287; ch. II, pp. 309, 316], and of the Repeal of the Corn-Laws [ch. II, p. 298].

(2) *Beginning and development of the break-up* occasioned by (a) the increasing requirements of land for railways and industries; (b) various Acts of Parliament (especially the Land Acts for Ireland); (c) the Budgets of 1894 and 1909 [ch. II, p. 320; ch. III, p. 331].

2. **Society :** which during this period revealed new grades, under the influence of wealth, town-life, and education.

(1) Gradual *permeation of the aristocracy by the new commercial spirit*, partly due to the creation of many peers from the wealthy members of the upper and middle classes throughout the period.

(2) Continued increase of the *middle-classes* in number, wealth, luxury, and influence, owing to (a) the enormous expansion of commerce and industry through Free Trade, (b) the democratization of wealth, (c) the three Reform Acts (indirectly); and (d) the spread of education.

(3) Beginning and development of *better conditions of all kinds for the working classes* owing to (a) the gradual rise of wages, (b) the three Reform Acts, (c) the Repeal of the Corn-Laws, (d) the growth of trades unions, (e) the spread of elementary education (see (5), below), and (f) the many legislative measures passed for their protection and betterment [ch. I, p. 288; ch. II, pp. 295, 298, 299, 311, 314, 316, 323; ch. III, p. 331].

(4) Continued rapid *growth of towns* in industrial areas, and decrease of the *rural* population; but gradual improvement in the housing problem.

(5) Development of a *system of national education* (not yet completed) :—
(a) Parliamentary measures, &c. [ch. I, p. 288; ch. II, pp. 295, 310, 319;

ch. III, p. 328]; (*b*) removal of restrictions upon education [ch. I, p. 290; ch. II, pp. 307, 311, 319].

(6) *The abolition of slavery* [ch. I, p. 288], and improvements in the condition of the poor [ch. I, p. 288; ch. II, pp. 294, 298; ch. III, p. 331].

(7) *Development of local government*: (*a*) municipal [ch. I, p. 290; ch. II, pp. 294, 316]; (*b*) counties and districts of counties [ch. II, pp. 319, 320, 323].

(8) *Legal and judicial reforms* [ch. II, p. 311].

(9) *In Ireland*: continued growth of agrarian and religious discontent, together with many legislative attempts to pacify it [ch. I, p. 289; ch. II, pp. 294, 297, 299, 301, 310, 314, 316, 317, 318, 323, 324; ch. III, p. 328].

3. Commerce and Industries.

(1) Continued and enormous expansion, owing to (*a*) the application of steam and other forms of power to means of intercommunication and factories, (*b*) scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, (*c*) full adoption of Free Trade, and (*d*) increased colonial expansion.

(2) Consequent maintenance of Great Britain's commercial and industrial supremacy; though the serious and increasing competition of Germany and the United States must be noted since 1870.

4. Learning and Literature.

(1) Continued development of a knowledge of philosophy, science, literature, and the arts among the middle-classes, and its slow permeation among the higher working-class later in the century.

(2) Revival of the drama, and continued development of 'natural' and romantic poetry, as well as of all forms of the novel and essay-writing.

(3) Enormous growth of the Newspaper Press and of periodical literature—due to (*a*) the abolition of the duty on paper [ch. I, p. 290; ch. II, p. 307], and (*b*) the spread of education among the masses [see ii. 2 (5), above].

(iii) RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Gradual removal of all restrictions upon** (1) Protestant Nonconformists [ch. I, p. 290; ch. II, pp. 310, 311, 316, 324; ch. III, p. 328]; (2) Roman Catholics [ch. II, pp. 297, 311]; (3) Jews [ch. II, p. 306].

2. **Ecclesiastical movements and changes**: (1) in England and Wales [ch. II, pp. 297, 314, 320]; (2) in Scotland [ch. II, pp. 297, 314]; (3) in Ireland [ch. II, pp. 297, 310].

(iv) POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Decline of the aristocratic rule of the landed interests, and advent of the middle classes to chief political power** consequent on the first Reform Act (1832).

2. **Gradual permeation of the principles of radical reform and Liberal foreign policy among the Whig party**, followed by the decline of that party, and the growth of the Liberal party *in its place* (1830-68) [ch. I, pp. 286-8, 289-91; ch. II, pp. 292-5, 299, 300, 306-8].

3. **Consequent spread of the principles of moderate reform among the Tory party**, followed by the decline of that party, and the rise and growth of the **Conservative party within it** (1830-68) [ch. I, pp. 288, 289, 291; ch. II, pp. 298-301, 302, 306, 308-9].

4. **Beginning of Democracy:** (1) consequent on the second Reform Act (1867) [ch. II, pp. 310, 314, 316]; and (2) followed by a struggle between the Conservative and Liberal parties for political power during the period of **its nascence** (1868-85) [ch. II, pp. 310, 312, 314, 316-17].

5. **Growth of Democracy:** (1) consequent on the third Reform Act (1884-5) [ch. II, pp. 318, 319-20]; (2) and continued struggle between the Conservative and Liberal parties for political power during the period of **its adolescence** (1885-1906) [ch. II, pp. 318, 319-20, 323; ch. III, pp. 328-9].

6. **Approach of the Adult (Third) Stage of Democracy** with the advent of a third political party—that of Labour—into Parliament (1906-10) [ch. III, pp. 328-9, 330-2].

7. **Rise and development of 'Home Rule for Ireland'.** (1) Political agitation for 'Repeal of the Union' by an Irish party (1830-73) [ch. II, pp. 294, 297, 301, 309]. (2) Rise and development of an *Irish Home Rule party* in Parliament (1873-85) [ch. II, pp. 310, 314, 316, 317]. (3) *Adoption of Home Rule by the Liberal party* (1886-1910) [ch. II, pp. 318, 319, 324; ch. III, pp. 328, 331]. (4) Consequent formation of a *Unionist party* by the gradual coalescence of the Liberal Anti-Home-Rulers with the Conservative party (1886-1910) [ch. II, pp. 320-1, 323; ch. III, pp. 327, 328].

8. **Continued Colonial Expansion** [ch. II, pp. 294, 296, 299, 302, 305, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 325; ch. III, pp. 326-7, 329, 331].

9. **Rise and development of British Imperialism:** (1) in its early form as advocated by the Conservative party—owing partly to difficulties with France and Germany, and partly to domestic difficulties [ch. II, pp. 318-19, 321, 322, 325; ch. III, pp. 326-7]; (2) in its modified form as advocated by the bulk of Liberals also [ch. III, pp. 329, 330].

10. **Foreign Relations connected with colonies** [ch. II, pp. 295, 296, 304, 308, 311, 313, 315, 316, 318-19, 320, 321; ch. III, pp. 327, 330].

11. Other Foreign Relations:

(1) *Maintenance of the Balance of Power:* (a) by diplomacy [ch. I, pp. 286, 290; ch. II, pp. 295, 296, 300, 302, 307, 311, 312, 316, 321, 325; ch. III, p. 327]; (b) by war [ch. II, pp. 295, 303]; (c) Britain's policy of 'isolation' (1856-1902) [ch. II, pp. 307, 308, 311, 312, 320, 321].

(2) *Wars for the extension of trade, &c.* [ch. II, pp. 295, 304, 309, 322].

(3) *Continuation of Canning's Liberal foreign policy* of fostering small nationalities abroad [ch. I, pp. 286, 290, 291; ch. II, pp. 300, 307, 312, 315, 316; ch. III, p. 330].

(4) *Revolutions abroad, and their influence on Britain* [ch. I, pp. 286, 288, 290-1; ch. II, pp. 300-1, 307, 312, 315-16; ch. III, p. 330].

(5) *Growth of Nationalism abroad, and its influence on later Wars:* [refer *antea*, pp. 271-2, 274, 276, 277, 279, 280, 286; also *postea*, ch. I, pp. 286, 290-1; ch. II, pp. 295, 300-1, 302-4, 306-7, 311, 315, 318, 321-2, 325; ch. III, pp. 327, 330, 332].

(6) *Beginning and slow growth of International Arbitration* to prevent wars [ch. II, pp. 311, 315, 321, 322, 325].

(7) *Development of colonial and commercial rivalry with foreign nations:*

—(a) with *Russia* [ch. I, p. 290; ch. II, pp. 295-6, 302-3, 312, 313, 315, 318, 321; ch. III, p. 330]; (b) with *France* [ch. II, pp. 313, 315-16, 318-19, 320, 321; ch. III, pp. 327, 330, 332]; (c) with *Germany* [ch. II, pp. 318-19; ch. III, pp. 327, 330, 332].

12. **Continued predominance of Britain's sea-power** as a determining factor in her world-power; and its combination with British finance to make Britain 'the central pivot of the world's development and interdependence'.

(V) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. **Last attempts of the Crown to control ministers**, ending in the final establishment of the *United Kingdom as a strictly constitutional monarchy* [ch. I, pp. 287-8, 289; ch. II, pp. 291, 302; ch. III, p. 326].

2. **Continuation of the Era of Reform:—**

(1) Rapid development of *Parliamentary Reform* by the three Reform Acts [ch. I, pp. 287-8; ch. II, pp. 306, 307, 308, 309, 316, 323].

(2) Accelerated development of *Economic Reform* after each of the Reform Acts [ch. I, pp. 288, 290; ch. II, pp. 295, 297-8, 299, 307, 310, 311, 314, 316, 319, 320, 323; ch. III, pp. 328, 331, 332].

(3) Constitutional *struggles between Commons and Lords*, all ending in favour of the former [ch. I, p. 287; ch. II, pp. 298-9, 319, 320; ch. III, pp. 330-1, 332].

3. **Development of the party system of government**, and its influence on the constitution [ch. I, pp. 287-8, 289; ch. II, pp. 292, 298-9, 301, 306, 308, 309, 310-11, 314, 316-18, 319-20, 322-3; ch. III, pp. 327-8, 329, 330-1, 332].

4. **Constitutional development in the British Colonial Empire:—**

(1) In America [ch. II, pp. 292, 309]; (2) in India [ch. II, pp. 305, 313; ch. III, p. 329]; (3) in Australia [ch. II, pp. 300, 322]; (4) in South Africa [ch. II, p. 311; ch. III, p. 329].

5. Growth of **the Army** [ch. II, pp. 304, 306, 310, 312, 324].

6. Growth of **the Navy**—coincident with the growth of the Empire, for the purpose (besides protecting the home-land) of maintaining trade-routes, suppressing piracy, and guarding colonial possessions.

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM IV, 1830-1837

(i) **CHARACTER OF WILLIAM IV.** Succeeding to the throne at the age of sixty-five, after spending half his life at sea, William was in bearing a great contrast to his brother George IV, being bluff and uncereemonious, but kindly and of simple tastes. He had the courage as well as the obstinacy of his Hanoverian predecessors.

(ii) **HIS POLICY.** While he strove to be a non-party man, he yet strongly opposed many progressive measures, as well as Palmerston's (Caningite) foreign policy; and in 1834 he arbitrarily dismissed Melbourne's first ministry (see *below*, B. I. i).

(iii) THE MINISTRIES OF WILLIAM IV.

- (1) The Wellington Ministry, January 1828–November 1830.
- (2) The Grey Ministry, November 1830–July 1834.
- (3) The First Melbourne Ministry, July–December 1834.
- (4) The First Peel Ministry, December 1834–March 1835.
- (5) The Second Melbourne Ministry, March 1835–September 1841.

**A. THE REFORM MINISTRY OF LORD GREY, 1830–4,
AND BEGINNING OF MIDDLE-CLASS RULE, 1832.**

I. *The Continental Revolutions of 1830.*

- i. **The Second (July) Revolution in France.** 1. *Causes.* (1) The aristocratic character of Charles X, and his support of clericalism against Liberalism. (2) His three edicts of July 1830 establishing censorship of the Press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and controlling the elections of the Second Chamber.
2. *The Three Days' Civil War*—ended by the deposition of Charles X in favour of *Louis Philippe*, who called himself 'King of the French'. The new monarchy was due to the support of the French middle classes against both republicanism and aristocracy.
3. *Results:* (1) the Reform agitation in England was greatly strengthened, and the Wellington ministry overthrown (*below*, II); (2) the Holy Alliance was dealt a death-blow; (3) sympathetic rebellions occurred in various continental states.

- ii. **Successful Revolt of the Belgians from Holland, September 1830**—caused by differences about religion, taxation, and the constitution. Belgium became an independent kingdom under *Leopold I* (of Saxe-Coburg), with a Parliament like that of Great Britain.

Note.—In 1833 England and France joined in compelling William I of Holland to acknowledge the independence of Belgium.

- iii. **Revolutions in Poland, Italy, and Germany.** 1. Unsuccessful revolt of Poles from Russia, November 1830; followed by the reduction of Poland to the status of a Russian province.
2. Revolts in various Italian states, February 1831, suppressed by the intervention of Austria.
3. Revolts in various North German states, which gained only a few minor reforms owing to the lack of unity in effort and object among the states.

Note.—In 1828, however, Prussia instituted a *Zollverein* or *Customs-Union*, which was joined by other German states, until by 1836 all but Austria were included in one *economic* union—a preparation for the later *political* union of 1870.

II. *Lord Grey's Ministry, and the Reform Agitation, 1830–2.*

- i. **Fall of Wellington's Ministry, November 1830**—owing to: (1) his opposition to reforms; (2) the anger of the Old Tories at his suffer-

ance of Catholic Emancipation; and (3) the influence of the July Revolution in France (the *immediate* cause).

- ii. **Grey's Ministry, November 1830–July 1834**: composed of Whigs and Canningites pledged to immediate Parliamentary Reform.

Chief members: Lord Grey—First Lord; Lord Althorpe—Chancellor of Exchequer; Lord Brougham—Lord Chancellor; Viscount Melbourne—Home Secretary; Palmerston—Foreign Secretary; Goderich—Colonial Secretary; and Lord John Russell—Paymaster-General. (Huskisson had been run over and killed, September 1830, at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway.)

- iii. **Summary of the Reform Movement, 1820–31** (refer *antea*, p. 273).

- (1) The first reform victory was gained 1820 by Russell, in the disfranchisement of Grampound. (2) During 1820–7 the annual motions for reform, made by Russell and others in Parliament, were rejected through the influence of Peel and Canning. (3) During 1828–30 Russell's reform-motions were rejected by Wellington, but increasingly supported by the middle classes throughout the country. (4) During 1830 Wellington was overthrown, practically by the influence of the middle-class Revolution in France, and Lord Grey promoted to office—a man associated with the Reform movement since 1793.

III. *The Reform Act of 1832*: the first of its kind.

- i. **The Struggle over the three Reform Bills, 1831–2.** (1) *The First Reform Bill*, introduced by Russell, March 1831. Its second reading in the Commons was carried only by 302 votes to 301. Parliament being then dissolved, a large majority was elected for Reform. (2) *The Second Reform Bill*, October 1831—was easily carried through the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords on its first reading.

Results—great political excitement, and numerous riots in the country.

- (3) **The Third Reform Bill, December 1831.** (a) It passed the Commons March 1832; but again met with such hostility in the Lords that Grey resigned. (b) Wellington, however, failed to form a ministry; and Grey resumed office *on the king's promise to create new peers, if necessary, to overcome opposition in the Lords*. The bill then passed the Lords June 1832, through Wellington and 100 peers abstaining from voting.

- ii. **Provisions and character of the Reform Act of 1832.**

1. *Redistribution of seats*: (1) fifty-six boroughs disfranchised, and thirty-two others deprived of one member each; (2) sixty-five seats given to forty-three new boroughs (twenty-two with two members and twenty-one with one); (3) sixty-five seats added to the English counties; and (4) eight seats added to Scotland and five to Ireland.

2. *The Franchise.* (1) *In towns*, the right of voting given uniformly to all householders paying at least £10 per year rent. (2) *In counties*, property remaining the basis, the vote given to 40s. freeholders, £10 copyholders, and £50 leaseholders.

Note.—Similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland, the total members being 658.

iii. Chief Causes of Parliamentary Reform.

- (1) The aristocratic control of the Commons long held by the landed interests owing to the antiquated system of representation and election. (2) The shifting of population from the rural South to the industrial North, and its subsequent rapid growth, owing to the Industrial Revolution. (3) The recurring periods of distress, industrial and agricultural. *Immediate causes*: (4) the stimulus of the almost bloodless success of the French middle classes in the July Revolution of 1830. (5) The agitation of numerous 'Reform Associations', and (6) the consequent overthrow of the Wellington ministry.

iv. Some Results of the First Reform Act.

- (1) The transfer of political power from the aristocracy to the middle classes. (2) A gradual change in the constitution and names of political parties—Peel and the New Tories becoming known as *Conservatives*; and the more progressive of the Whigs as *Liberals*. (3) Supremacy of the Whigs and Liberals in Parliament practically uninterrupted till 1874. (4) New relations between Crown and Ministry, the latter henceforth becoming more directly responsible to the people than to the Crown. (5) *The opening up of a new era in reform by legislation.*

- v. **The First Reformed Parliament, January 1833**—in which the government, having a majority of 486 against 172 in the Commons, carried out numerous further reforms (*below*).

IV. Other reforming Measures of the Grey Ministry, 1833-4.

- i. **The First Education Act, 1833**—which made the first national yearly grant of money to assist *elementary education*.
 ii. **The Act for the Abolition of Slavery, 1833**—voting £20,000,000 compensation to slave owners in order to abolish all slavery in British territory.
 iii. **Lord Ashley's Factory Act, 1833**—the first act to regulate the employment of women and children in factories.

Note.—The above three Acts form *the beginning of a new kind of legislation which has been termed Social Reform.*

- iv. **The new Poor-Law Act, 1834**—amending Elizabeth's Act of 1601, and other later Acts. Its *chief provisions* were:—

- (1) No out-door relief to be allowed except to aged and impotent persons;
 (2) able-bodied persons and loafers to have relief only in return

for work ; (3) *Unions of parishes* to be formed, with a *workhouse* for each union.

V. *Irish Affairs, 1830-4, and Grey's Resignation.*

- i. **The Tithe War (1829-35) and the Coercion Act of 1833.** The Tithe War was initiated by O'Connell, 1829, to release Catholic peasantry from paying tithes to the Protestant Church of Ireland. There were consequent outrages and riots all over Ireland, and a severe Coercion Act was passed, 1833, to put them down.
- ii. **The number of Irish Protestant Bishops reduced by ten in 1834**—followed by a dispute in the Cabinet as to the use to which the released Church funds should be put.
- iii. **Resignation of Lord Grey, July 1834**—on account of the crisis caused by this and the proposal to renew the Coercion Act.

B. THE MINISTRIES OF MELBOURNE (TWO) AND PEEL, 1834-7.

I. *The First Ministries of Melbourne and Peel, 1834-5.*

- i. **Melbourne's First Ministry, July-December 1834.** 1. **Chief members:** as in the previous one, with Melbourne for Grey. During the autumn, however, a reaction in favour of Peel's party set in, and this was followed by
2. **The dismissal of Melbourne (December) by the King**, who now opposed further reforms.

Note.—This proved the last use of the Royal Prerogative to dismiss a minister.

- ii. **Peel's First Ministry, December 1834-March 1835.** 1. **Chief members:**

Peel—First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer ; *Wellington*—Foreign Secretary ; *Earl of Aberdeen*—War and Colonial Secretary ; *Lyndhurst*—Lord Chancellor ; *W. E. Gladstone*—Colonial Under-Secretary.

2. **Dissolution of Parliament at once**—and issue of Peel's famous *Tamworth Manifesto*, which became the programme of the new *Conservative party*. The elections, however, resulted in Peel being still in a minority of 107 in the Commons.
3. **Defeat and resignation of Peel, March 1835**—on Irish questions.

II. *Melbourne's Second Ministry (March 1835-September 1841), and Further Reforms.*

- i. **Its chief members:** *Melbourne*—First Lord of Treasury ; *Palmerston*—again Foreign Secretary ; *Lord J. Russell*—Home Secretary ; and most of Melbourne's former colleagues.

- ii. **Russell's Municipal Reform Act, 1835**—the chief measure of the second Melbourne administration. The government of each borough was placed in the hands of a Mayor and a Town Council, to be elected by all borough rate-payers of not less than three years' standing (since reduced to one year).

Note.—This Act gave to the middle classes the control of the *towns*, just as the Reform Act of 1832 had given them that of *Parliament*.

- iii. **Other reforms, 1836.** 1. *Favourable to Nonconformists*: (1) The Tithe Commutation Act passed for England and Wales. (2) Marriages legalized in Nonconformist chapels, if before a Registrar. (3) *The University of London founded*—to grant degrees without religious tests.
2. *Favourable to popular supervision of the Administration*: (1) The division-lists of the House of Commons ordered to be published. (2) The stamp-duty on newspapers reduced to a penny.

III. *Foreign Affairs, 1832-7.*

- i. **Character and Policy of Palmerston** (Foreign Secretary). In the Cabinet he was a strong man, but autocratic towards his colleagues. *His foreign policy*, as a follower of Canning, was to reverse the policy of Wellington by showing sympathy with the Liberal and national movements of 1830-3, and opposing Russia's designs with regard to Turkey and the East (*postea*, pp. 295-6).

- ii. **Alliance of Great Britain with France, 1832**—made by Palmerston and Louis Philippe to counterbalance the influence of the Holy Alliance.

- (1) *They were successful* in forcing the Dutch king to cease his attacks on the independence of Belgium, 1833; but (2) *they failed* in opposing the Russo-Turkish *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi*, 1833. By this the Sultan agreed to open the Bosphorus to Russian ships in return for the Czar's aid against Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, now in rebellion against the Sultan.

- iii. **Palmerston's dealings with Portugal and Spain.** 1. *In Portugal*: he supported Donna Maria and the constitutional party against her reactionary uncle, Dom Miguel. This enabled Queen Maria to defeat Miguel's fleet in 1833.

2. *In Spain*: on the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, Palmerston and Louis Philippe supported the accession of Ferdinand's infant daughter Isabella, under her mother's regency. Ferdinand's brother, *Don Carlos*, claimed the Spanish throne, and civil war followed.

3. In 1834 Palmerston formed a *Quadruple alliance* between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Results: (1) Dom Miguel in 1834, and Don Carlos in 1840, were forced

to retire from the Peninsula, and (2) constitutional rule was established in the Peninsula, and thus in all western Europe.

IV. *Death of William IV. Work of his Reign.*

- i. **The King died, June 20, 1837:** and *Hanover*, where the Salic law operated, was transferred to his next brother, Ernest, the Duke of Cumberland, owing to the English crown going to his young niece Victoria.

Note.—The Melbourne ministry, never a strong one because of its divided aims, was saved from collapse by the accession of so young and inexperienced a princess.

- ii. **Summary of the chief features of the reign.** 1. In **foreign affairs:** (1) The French Revolution of 1830, and its influence both on Europe generally and on Great Britain. (2) The alliance with France against the influence of the Holy Alliance, and the consequent establishment of constitutional rule in all western Europe, contrasted with the continued despotism in the rest. (3) The development of the Eastern Question, through the opening of the Bosphorus to Russian ships.
2. In **internal affairs:** (1) The rise of the middle classes to political power through the Reform Act of 1832, and the consequent beginning of a new era in legislative measures of reform. (2) The beginning of Social Reform. (3) The rise of the new Conservative and Liberal parties. (4) The continuation of unrest and agitation in Ireland.

CHAPTER II

VICTORIA, 1837-1901

- (i) **CHARACTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA.** Coming to the throne at the early age of eighteen, the young queen soon revealed excellent qualities of heart and mind—modesty, kind-heartedness, tactfulness, high intelligence, and a quick grasp of state-craft. The tone of her Court, and her own knowledge of affairs gathered as her reign advanced, exercised a deep and abiding influence not only on British, but also on European, society and politics during the nineteenth century.
- (ii) **HER POLICY.** (1) *In domestic affairs*—to purify her Court and maintain its respectability; to strengthen the constitutional position of the monarchy; and to win the esteem of all classes of her subjects. (2) *In foreign affairs*—to promote international peace and friendship.
- (iii) **THE MINISTRIES OF VICTORIA'S REIGN.**
 1. The Second Melbourne Ministry, March 1835-September 1841.
 2. The Second Peel Ministry, September 1841-June 1846.
 3. The First Russell Ministry, July 1846-February 1852.

4. The First Derby Ministry, February–December 1852.
5. The Aberdeen Ministry, December 1852–February 1855.
6. The First Palmerston Ministry, February 1855–February 1858.
7. The Second Derby Ministry, February 1858–June 1859.
8. The Second Palmerston Ministry, June 1859–October 1865.
9. The Second Russell Ministry, November 1865–June 1866.
10. The Third Derby Ministry, June 1866–February 1868.
11. The First Disraeli Ministry, February–December 1868.
12. The First Gladstone Ministry, December 1868–February 1874.
13. The Second Disraeli Ministry, February 1874–April 1880.
14. The Second Gladstone Ministry, April 1880–June 1885.
15. The First Salisbury Ministry, June 1885–February 1886.
16. The Third Gladstone Ministry, February–August 1886.
17. The Second Salisbury Ministry, August 1886–August 1892.
18. The Fourth Gladstone Ministry, August 1892–March 1894.
19. The Rosebery Ministry, March 1894–June 1895.
20. The Third Salisbury (Coalition) Ministry, June 1895–July 1902.

A. SECOND PERIOD OF MIDDLE-CLASS RULE: THE CHARTIST AND ANTI-CORN-LAW MOVEMENTS, 1837–46.

A₁. CONTINUATION OF THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY, 1837–41; COLONIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND DOMESTIC AGITATIONS.

1. *Colonial Affairs*, 1837–41.

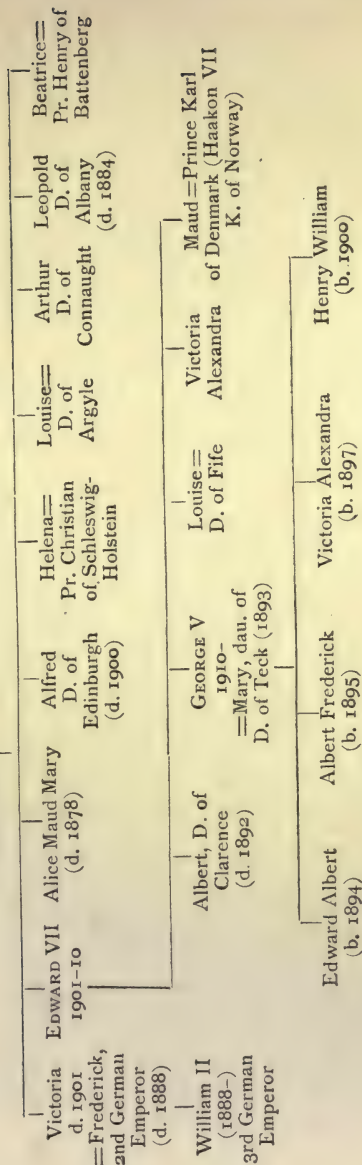
i. The Canadian Rebellions and Lord Durham's Report, 1837–40.

1. *Causes of Rebellion*: (1) The unsatisfactory government both of Lower Canada (French) and of Upper Canada (British), and the high-handed acts of the officials. (2) The development of a racial feud between French and British in the two colonies.
2. *Events*. (1) Revolt of French Canadians under Louis Papineau, and a separate revolt in Upper Canada, 1837. Both were, however, soon suppressed and martial law was set up. (2) Lord Durham, an able man, sent out in 1838 by the British ministry to devise a new scheme of government. He rigorously punished the rebels, exiling the ringleaders to the Bermudas; but his severity caused attacks upon him in the English Parliament. Lord Melbourne therefore recalled him, 1838. (3) **Lord Durham's Report on Canadian affairs** presented to Parliament, 1839. In this he advised sweeping reforms, including the grant of self-government. (He died 1840.)
3. **The Canadian Act of Union** passed by Parliament 1840—on the lines of the Durham Report. By this Act the two provinces were united under one colonial Parliament and a governor, the control of administration being given to the new body.

Note.—The principles laid down in the Durham Report have been the basis of all subsequent grants of self-government to our large colonies.

TABLE OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S CHILDREN.

VICTORIA=Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (d. Dec. 1861).
1837-1901



- ii. **Development of new Colonies, 1836-42.** 1. **In Australasia:** (1) *South Australia* colonized 1836, with its capital at *Adelaide* (named after the queen of William IV). (2) *New Zealand* settled 1839, under N.S. Wales; but made a separate colony 1841.
2. **In South Africa:** (1) Trek of the Dutch Boers out of Cape Colony to *Natal* and elsewhere, 1836. (2) *Natal* occupied, 1842, by the British, causing the Boers to trek still further north into the Transvaal.
3. *Aden* occupied by Great Britain, 1839.

II. *Domestic Affairs under the Second Melbourne Ministry, 1837-41.*

- i. **Beginning of the Chartist and Anti-Corn-Law Agitations, 1838**
—based on the condition of the poor. This was still one of great misery owing to *several causes*—the increasing number of inventions in machinery, the low wages still paid for labour, the rapid growth of population and consequent over-crowding in towns, and the dear food resulting from the restrictive tariffs.

1. **The Chartist Agitation**—*due to* the above causes and to the distrust among the workers of middle-class legislation.

- (1) *The People's Charter* was issued May 1838, by a few Radical M.P.'s and workmen-leaders, demanding:—(a) annual Parliaments, (b) manhood suffrage, (c) vote by ballot, (d) equal electoral districts, (e) abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, and (f) payment of M.P.'s.

Note.—All but the first of these 'Six Points' have been since granted entirely or approximately; but all were then opposed as revolutionary.

- (2) A Monster Petition in support of the Charter was presented to Parliament 1839, but it was disregarded. (3) Rioting followed, especially at Birmingham and Newport, led by the 'Physical Force' section of Chartists. They were severely suppressed.

2. **Formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League, 1838:** to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws. The movement, led by **Richard Cobden** and **John Bright** in the provinces, and by **Charles Villiers** in Parliament, gained supporters rapidly.

- ii. **Irish Affairs, 1837 40.** (1) An *Irish Poor-Law* passed 1838, similar to that for England (*antea*, p. 288). (2) An *Irish Tithe Act*, 1838; and (3) an *Irish Municipal Act*, 1840, also passed; but the latter was so inadequate to meet grievances that the agitation for repeal of the Union was renewed.

- iii. **Ministerial Crisis over the Bedchamber Question, 1839**—caused by the resignation of Melbourne, and the refusal of Peel to take office unless the Whig Ladies of the Bedchamber were dismissed. Melbourne then resumed office.

- iv. **Penny Postage adopted, 1839**—through the efforts of Rowland Hill.
- v. **The Education Department established, 1839**—for the control of *elementary* education by means of a *special Committee of the Privy Council*.
- vi. **The Queen's Marriage, February 10, 1840**, to her cousin Albert, younger son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The prince was made Prince Consort, 1857, and died in 1861.
- vii. **Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, September 1841**—*due to the* general election of 1841, which showed a strong Conservative reaction against its Free-Trade tendencies. Peel's second (Conservative) Ministry took its place (see A₂ I, *below*).

III. *Foreign Affairs under the Melbourne Ministry, 1837-41.*

- i. **Palmerston's Policy in the Eastern Question** (refer *antea*, p. 290)
—to thwart Russian designs of securing domination over Turkey, and to maintain the Sultan in full control over the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.
- ii. **Second Rebellion of Mehemet Ali** (*antea*, p. 290) **and its results, 1839-41.**
 - 1. *Object*—to wrest, with French connivance, Egypt and Syria from Turkish control.
 - 2. **Palmerston's formation of a Quadruple Alliance, 1840**, including Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to help Turkey. France refused to join it.

Results of the alliance: (1) Acre captured by a British fleet; (2) Mehemet Ali forced to submit to the Sultan in return for his rule in Egypt being made hereditary; (3) this interference of the Powers opposed by the French ministry, but French hostility checked by Louis Philippe changing the ministry.

- 3. **The Treaty of London, 1841, made by all the Powers.** It practically annulled the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833) by agreeing that no warships except Turkish ones should pass through the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus.

iii. **The First China War, 1839-42.**

- 1. *Cause*—the destruction by the Chinese at Canton of contraband opium belonging to British traders.
- 2. War being declared by Britain, several easy victories were won over the Chinese. By the *Treaty of Nan-King*, 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain, and five 'treaty ports' were opened to British traders (see *below*, B₂ IV).

- iv. **The First Afghan War, 1838-42.** 1. *Cause*—the danger to the Indian north-west frontier threatened by Russian intrigues in Afghanistan during 1838.
2. War being declared by **Lord Auckland** (governor-general of India, 1836-42) upon the Ameer, Dost Mohammed, a *British expedition was sent to Kabul*, 1841. Dost Mohammed was deposed in favour of his rival, Shah Shujah, and Kabul occupied; but soon after, the British general and the British envoy were murdered through the treachery of Dost Mohammed's son. The British army, now forced to retreat, was attacked in the mountain-passes, and all massacred except **Dr. Brydon**, who reached Jellalabad with the news.
3. A strong punitive expedition, sent under **General Pollock**, 1842, recaptured Kabul, and released all the British prisoners. But Shah Shujah had died; so Dost Mohammed was restored, under restrictions, as our ally (see *below*, C₂ II).

A₂. PEEL'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1841-6: BEGINNING OF FREE-TRADE.

I. *Peel's Ministry, and Indian Affairs.*

- i. **Chief members of the new Ministry:** *Peel*—First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Aberdeen*—Foreign Secretary; *Wellington*—Leader of House of Lords; *Graham*—Home Secretary; *Lord Stanley*—Colonial Secretary; *Gladstone*—Board of Trade.
- ii. **Indian Affairs under Peel's Administration.**
 1. **Annexation of Sindh, 1843**, by Lord Ellenborough (governor-general 1842-4), after Napier's victory at **Miani** (Lower Indus).
 2. **The First Sikh War, 1845-6:** caused by the aggression of the Sikhs of the Punjab, after Sindh had been annexed. (1) Victories of Sir Hugh Gough at **Mudki** (December 1845) and **Ferozeshah** (February 1846). (2) Victories of Sir Harry Smith at **Aliwal** (January) and of Gough and Smith at **Sobraon** (February 1846). The Sikhs then submitted, and the Punjab was made a Protectorate under the young Maharajah, Dhulip Singh (see B₁ II, *below*).

II. *Lord Aberdeen and Foreign Affairs, 1841-6.*

- i. **His two boundary-treaties with the United States.** 1. *The Ashburton Treaty*, 1842, settling the boundary between eastern Canada and the state of Maine.
2. *The Oregon Treaty*, 1846, settling the dispute about the navigation of the Columbia R., and giving Vancouver I. to Britain.
- ii. **The Tahiti Difficulty with France, 1844**—over the seizure of Tahiti (Pacific) by a French admiral, and the arrest of a British consul there. A war was averted by the French government apologizing and restoring Tahiti to its queen Pomaré.

III. *Religious Movements in England and Scotland, 1833-46.*

- i. **The Tractarian, or Oxford, Movement, 1833-45:** begun about 1833 among a group of Oxford men led by Keble, J. H. Newman, and, later, Dr. Pusey. Its chief object was to restore the Church of England to its ancient position of authority and influence in the national life. In 1834 the Movement began the issue of a long-continued series of 'Tracts for the Times'.

Some results of the Movement: (1) The religious life of the Church was deeply stirred, and its influence greatly increased. (2) A new High Church party was founded within the Church, full of zeal for personal work and corporate unity. But (3) secessions to Rome were caused—that of J. H. Newman, 1845, followed by many others at various times since.

- ii. **Establishment of the Free-Kirk of Scotland, 1843**—in consequence of the House of Lords deciding against an appeal for annulling the right claimed by the *lay patrons* of Scottish Church-livings to select the pastors. Dr. Chalmers and 470 clergy seceded from the Church of Scotland to found an independent Kirk.

IV. *Renewal of Irish Troubles, 1840-5.*

- i. **Revival of Agitation for Repeal of the Union:** (1) by a system of monster meetings in Ireland promoted by O'Connell, 1840; (2) by the foundation of the 'Young Ireland Party', 1842, by Duffy, Meagher, and others for the adoption of more violent methods.

O'Connell was arrested at the Clontarf meeting, 1843, but released on his appeal to the House of Lords. His popularity thenceforward declined, and he died at Geneva, 1847.

- ii. **Peel's efforts to pacify Ireland.**

1. **Appointment of the Devon Commission, 1844**—to inquire into the evils of the Irish land-system. The commissioners' report was the basis of a series of later efforts by English statesmen to effect land-reforms in Ireland.

2. **Foundation of three Queen's Colleges, 1845**—at Belfast, Cork, and Galway—for Protestant and Catholic students jointly.

3. **Money-grant to Maynooth College for Catholic priests, 1845**—which was followed by the resignation of Gladstone from the Ministry.

- iii. **The Potato Famine, 1845-9:** through the general failure of the potato crop in Ireland, 1845-6, owing to blight.

Results: (1) Death of thousands of Irish peasants from hunger or disease. (2) Emigration of over a million people from Ireland to America during 1845-50. (3) Renewal of agrarian disturbances in Ireland.

V. *Peel's Social and Financial Reforms, 1841-5.*

i. **Social:** 1. **The Mines Act, 1842**—entirely stopping women and children from working underground.

2. **The Second Factory Act, 1844**—restricting the work of children under thirteen to $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours daily, and appointing the first factory inspectors.

Note.—These Acts were primarily due to the efforts of **Lord Ashley** (later Earl of Shaftesbury).

ii. **Financial**—in the direction of Free-Trade.

1. *His Budget of 1842*, reducing the tariffs on corn and on two-thirds of our imports, and also reviving *Pitt's Income-Tax* for three years.

2. *His Budget of 1845*, abolishing all tariffs on exports, and renewing the *Income-Tax*.

iii. **Alarm and opposition of the Tory party**—caused by Peel's Free-Trade tendencies. 'The Young England Party' was founded in 1843 by **Lord John Manners** and **Benjamin Disraeli** to attack Peel's financial policy in the Commons.

VI. *The Repeal of the Corn-Laws, 1846.*

i. **Progress of Free-Trade principles, 1841-5.** 1. *Causes:*

(1) The great development of industries in Great Britain, and the difficulty of manufacturers in obtaining cheap 'raw materials'. (2) The rapid growth in population, and the increasing difficulty of feeding the nation on home-grown corn. (3) The activity of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the eloquence of its leaders.

2. *The progress of the movement* shown by: (1) Peel's Budgets of 1841-5; (2) his openly avowed support of Free-Trade in 1845, owing to the horrors of the Irish potato-famine; and (3) Lord John Russell's 'Edinburgh Letter', which also avowed support of Free-Trade.

ii. **Repeal of the Corn-Laws, 1846.**

1. On Peel's proposal to open all ports free to foreign corn being rejected by his Cabinet, November 1845, he resigned. Russell tried, but failed, to form a ministry; and so Peel returned to office with Gladstone in place of Stanley.

2. **His Bill for Repeal of the Corn-Laws was then passed, June 8, 1846**, by both Houses with the aid of the Liberals led by Russell.

3. *Results:* (1) The death-blow to Protection; (2) the overthrow of Peel; (3) the split in the Conservative party, which broke into Peelites and Protectionists.

Note.—The reconstruction of the Conservative party was the work of Disraeli.

- iii. **The Irish Coercion Bill and the Fall of Peel.** The Bill—to suppress the crime in Ireland caused by the famine—was rejected by the Commons on June 9 (the day the Corn-Laws were repealed) through the bitter hostility to Peel exercised by the Young England party. Peel consequently resigned on June 27. (He died in 1850.)

B. THE LAST PERIOD OF MIDDLE-CLASS RULE, 1846-68.

B₁. FIRST MINISTRIES OF RUSSELL AND DERBY, 1846-52: DOMESTIC PROGRESS AND FOREIGN REVOLUTIONS.

I. Domestic Affairs under the Russell Ministry, 1846-52.

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry** (the last to be entirely Whig):—

Russell—First Lord; *Palmerston*—Foreign Secretary till 1851, then *Earl Granville*; *Wood*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Sir George Grey*—Home Secretary; *Macaulay*—Paymaster of Forces.

- ii. **Three important social Acts** (promoted by the Earl of Shaftesbury):—(1) *The third Factory Act*, 1847, further restricting the employment of women and children in factories (*refer* 1833 and 1844). (2) *The Public Health Act*, 1848, instituting sanitary reforms through government inspectors. (3) *The Act for the Better Housing of the Poor*, 1851.

- iii. **Total repeal of the Navigation Laws, 1849**—a necessary corollary to the work of Huskisson and Peel towards the establishment of Free-Trade.

- iv. **The First International Exhibition, 1851**—the first of its kind anywhere—initiated by the Prince Consort. Its objects were to promote international friendships, and to stimulate the development of British industries.

II. Indian and Colonial Affairs, 1847-52.

- i. **India under Lord Dalhousie (1848-56).** 1. **The Second Sikh War, 1848-9:** due to the revolt of the Sikhs (*refer antea*, A₂ I). Gough's victories at **Chillianwalla** (January) and **Gujerat** (February 1849) brought about *the annexation of the Punjab as a British province* under **Henry and John Lawrence**.

2. **The Second Burmese War, 1851-2** (*antea*, p. 281), caused by the ill-treatment of British merchants at Rangoon. It resulted in the annexation of Pegu.

Note.—Dalhousie's was the most important governorship since Wellesley's, both in the increase of territory and in administrative reforms.

- ii. **Australasia.** 1. The **Australian Government Act, 1850**, which empowered the home government to grant Councils and self-government to the various colonies at need.
- 2. **Discovery of gold in Victoria, 1851**: the cause of a rapid increase of Australian population, and of the development of responsible governments.
- iii. **South Africa.** (1) **The Kaffir Wars, 1850-3**: ending with the annexation of British Kaffraria. (2) *The Sand River Convention, 1852*, which guaranteed independence to the Boers beyond the R. Vaal. This originated the *Transvaal Republic* (Boer).

III. *Palmerston and Foreign Affairs, 1846-50. Continental Revolutions and Reaction, 1848-9.*

- i. **The Anglo-French Quarrel, 1846**—over two Spanish royal marriages, which Louis Philippe arranged to promote French influence in Spain. *Result*: a rupture of the *entente* between Great Britain and France.
- ii. **Palmerston's policy in Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy, 1846-8.**
 - (1) *In Portugal*—he intervened in behalf of Queen Maria to check civil war there, before France and Spain could interfere. (2) *In Switzerland*—by diplomatic delays he prevented the interference, 1847, of Austria, Prussia, and France, in favour of the Roman Catholic 'Sonderbund' (or League). The Swiss Liberal reformers were thus enabled to crush the League, and to institute constitutional reforms. (3) *In Italy*—he warned off the Great Powers, 1847, from interfering in the Liberal movements then going forward for a united Italy.
- iii. **The French and other European Revolutions of 1848.**
 - 1. **The Third Revolution in France, February 1848.** (1) *Causes*—the resistance of Louis Philippe and his chief minister Guizot to internal reforms; and the republican and socialist agitations among the working classes. (2) *Events*.—On February 24 Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his son; but a republic was proclaimed in Paris after much bloodshed. In December *Louis Napoleon*, nephew of Napoleon I, was elected President of the Republic.
 - 2. **Revolutions against Austria:** (1) *In Vienna*—followed by the downfall of Metternich; (2) *in North Italy*—aided by King Charles Albert of Sardinia; (3) *in Hungary*—led by *Kossuth*.
 - 3. **Revolutions in various German States**—resulting in the assembly of a national Liberal Parliament at Frankfurt.
- iv. **The European Reaction, 1848-9**: owing to the risings being premature.
 - 1. *In North Italy*—the Austrians gained victories at Custoza (July 1848) and Novara (March 1849); after which Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son *Victor Emmanuel II*.
 - 2. *In Austria*—Hungary was subdued by the aid of Russia; but

Kossuth escaped to Turkey, and thence, 1851, to England, in a fleet sent by Palmerston.

- v. **Palmerston's offence to Queen Victoria and Prince Consort, 1849-50:** *caused by* his frequently acting in foreign matters without sufficiently consulting the Crown, and especially by his sympathy with Louis Napoleon and the revolutionaries against the German monarchies.

Note.—In 1850 the Queen sent him a *memorandum* on the proper relations of the Foreign Secretary to the Sovereign; but he continued to act independently, supported by the nation and the Commons.

vi. **Slight effect of the Revolutions upon the British Isles.**

1. *In Great Britain*—there was a revival of Chartist activity under **Feergus O'Connor**, to gain control of the government for the people—as in France. A mass meeting on Kennington Common, April 10, 1848, to present a petition to Parliament, was overawed by the government's preparations against riots. Chartism now declined, and was gradually absorbed in the movement for Parliamentary reform.
2. *In Ireland*—there was a rebellion of the Young Ireland party under Smith O'Brien, July 1848; but it was easily suppressed. Widespread poverty and distress, however, continued in Ireland many years, as results of the potato-famine and consequent diseases among the peasants, despite the efforts of successive governments in relief.

IV. *Ministerial Changes, 1851-2.*

- i. **Dismissal of Palmerston, 1851**—over French affairs. When Louis Napoleon, in December 1851, made his *coup d'état* and established himself as military dictator in France, Palmerston expressed his approval. Russell dismissed him in favour of *Lord Granville*.
- ii. **Defeat and Resignation of Russell, February 1852**—over a question of militia, carried against him in the Commons by Palmerston out of revenge. *"Tip for Fat with Johnny Russell"*
- iii. **First Ministry of Lord Derby (Stanley), February-December 1852.**

1. **Chief members:**—*Derby*—First Lord; *Disraeli*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Malmesbury*—Foreign Secretary.

Note.—*Wellington* died in November 1852, and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's.

2. **Declaration of Disraeli in favour of Free-Trade**—followed by the defeat and resignation of the Derby ministry on Disraeli's first Budget. **1852.**

B₂. THE MINISTRIES OF ABERDEEN AND PALMERSTON (HIS FIRST) 1852-8:
PERIOD OF THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY.

I. *Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry, December 1852-February 1855. Early Measures.*

- i. **Chief members.** (1) *Peelites*: Aberdeen—First Lord; Gladstone—Chancellor of Exchequer; Duke of Newcastle, and others. (2) *Whigs*: Russell—Foreign Secretary, followed by Earl of Clarendon in 1853; Palmerston—Home Secretary.
- ii. **Gladstone's First Budget, 1853**—which established his reputation as a financier.
- iii. **Indian and Colonial Affairs, 1853-4.**

(1) Annexation of Nagpur—the nucleus of the later Central Provinces.
(2) Close of the Kaffir Wars, and annexation of British Kaffraria (antea, B₁ II). (3) *The Bloemfontein Convention*, guaranteeing the independence of the Orange Free State.

IV 1854 Russell introduced a Reform Bill which he subsequently withdrew.
II. *Revival of the Eastern Question, 1851-4.* (Refer antea, A₁ III).

- i. **Rivalry between Russia and France**—over the quarrels between the Greek and Roman Catholic monks in Palestine as to the custody of the holy places and relics: an old quarrel, revived in 1851. The Greek monks were supported by the Czar Nicholas as 'natural protector' of the Greek Church; the Latin monks, by Louis Napoleon (Emperor Napoleon III after July 1852). The Sultan attempted to arrange a compromise between the monks, but failed.

ii. **Diplomatic negotiations and events, 1853, leading to war.**

1. **A private proposal of the Czar**—to divide Turkey into principalities under Russian protection, giving Egypt and Crete to Britain—was rejected, January 1853, by the Aberdeen ministry, which then attempted to arrange the Franco-Russian dispute. But a Russian ultimatum was sent to Turkey demanding recognition of the Czar as protector of the 'Greek' Christians in Turkey. This was rejected by the Sultan on the advice of the British ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.
2. **Russia now seized Moldavia and Wallachia** (July), causing the dispatch of British and French fleets to the Dardanelles (October).
3. **A Congress of the Great Powers** then met at Vienna and sent the **Vienna Note** proposing a settlement to Russia and Turkey; but the Sultan, acting on Lord Stratford's advice, rejected the Note.
4. In October Turkish troops crossed the Danube and defeated the Russians; but in November the latter destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope.

① Territory which today comprises Roumania.

- iii. **Alliance between France and Britain, March 1854**, and war declared on Russia.

Note.—The war was avoidable; but the Aberdeen cabinet was divided—Russell and Palmerston being for war—and it simply drifted into active hostilities, urged forward by the ‘current’ mass of British opinion.

III. *The Crimean War, 1854-6.*

- i. **Causes.** 1. *General:* (1) The desire of Russia to strengthen its influence in the Balkan peninsula, and to secure an exit to the Mediterranean. (2) The desire of Napoleon III to secure popularity in France by a successful foreign war. (3) Great Britain’s intense fear of the extension of Russian influence to the Dardanelles and the Mediterranean.
2. *Immediate:* (1) The quarrel of the Greek and Latin monks in Palestine. (2) The Czar’s claim in 1853 to be protector of the Greek Christians in Turkey, and the Sultan’s refusal of it. (3) The Russian occupation of the Danubian provinces, and consequent dispatch of the allied fleets to the Dardanelles. (4) The rejection of the Vienna Note by the Sultan, on British advice.
- ii. **War Events, 1854.** 1. *In Turkey*—the Russian army besieging Silistria was withdrawn on the arrival at Varna (April) of the allied troops under **Lord Raglan** and **Saint-Arnaud**. The Crimea then became the chief area of the war.
2. *In the Baltic*—a British fleet, sent to capture the Russian Baltic fleet and Cronstadt, met with some success, but ultimately failed in its main objects.
3. *In the Crimea*—the landing of the allied armies was followed by their victory of the **Alma** (September 20), and the **siege of Sebastopol** (begun October 16). The Russian attempts to relieve the fortress were defeated by the allies’ victories at **Balaclava** (October 25)—where occurred the famous Charge of the Light Brigade—and at **Inkerman** (November 5).
- iii. **War and home events, 1854-5.** 1. *In the Crimea*—the winter campaign of the allies proved very disastrous owing to the extreme cold, bad commissariat arrangements, dysentery and other diseases.
2. *At home*—popular indignation was roused against the inefficient war-administration, and the Aberdeen ministry resigned in consequence.
3. **The Palmerston Ministry (mostly Whig)** was then formed (lasting February 1855–February 1858).

Chief members: *Palmerston*—First Lord; *Gladstone*—Chancellor of the Exchequer for a few weeks, and then *Sir G. C. Lewis*; *Clarendon*—Foreign Secretary; *Lord Pannmure*—War Secretary; *Russell*—Colonial Secretary.

Note.—The conduct of the war was now more vigorous; and hospital arrangements were made efficient under **Florence Nightingale** and a staff of volunteer nurses.

iv. **War Events, 1855.** 1. In the spring, after the failure of peace proposals made first by Russia, then by Austria, the allies were joined by Sardinia.

2. In September **Sebastopol fell**, after a siege of eleven months and the total loss of over 100,000 lives. The war was then closed by

v. **The Peace of Paris, March 1856.** Chief terms:

(1) The Black Sea to be neutralized, and Russia to maintain neither arsenal nor navy there. (2) The independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire guaranteed, but more freedom to be given by the Sultan to his Christian subjects. (3) Moldavia and Wallachia to become independent states under the Sultan's suzerainty, and the navigation of the Danube to be free. (4) Britain to surrender her right of search over neutral vessels in war time.

vi. **Some results of the War:**—(1) Russia's southern advance checked, but not permanently (see 1870 and 1878). (2) The Christian subjects of the Porte still afflicted by Mussulman severities. (3) The reorganization of the British army, and the establishment of an improved system of military hospitals and nurses—the latter due to the work of Miss Nightingale.

IV. *Wars with Persia and China, 1856-60.*

i. **The War with Persia, 1856.**—*caused by* Persia seizing Herat, the supposed north-western 'Key of India'. A British force under General Outram captured Bushire and other towns on the Persian Gulf; and the war ended by Persia withdrawing from Herat.

ii. **The Second China War, 1857-60** (refer *antea*, A₁ III. iii).

1. *Cause*—the seizure by the Chinese officials at Canton of the schooner *Arrow*, really a Chinese smuggling boat flying the British flag.

2. *Events.* (1) Bombardment of Canton by a British force, 1857. This caused a vote of censure to be passed in the British Parliament; but a general election gave Palmerston a large majority again. (2) *The Treaty of Tientsin*, 1858—legalizing the opium-trade with China, opening up more treaty-ports, and admitting foreign ambassadors to the Chinese court at Peking. The war was renewed by China next year; but it was finally closed in 1860.

V. *The Indian Mutiny, 1857-8.*

i. **Causes.** 1. *General:* (1) The annexations of territory made by Lord Dalhousie (1848-56), especially that of Oude, 1856—which resulted from the King of Oude's misrule. (2) The introduction of railways, telegraphs, &c., into India, and the consequent fear among the Brahmins of a British scheme for forcibly altering the native

customs and religion. (3) The spread of a belief that Britain's power was declining—due to the recent disasters in Afghanistan.

2. *Immediate*: (1) The unrest and discontent among the Sepoys in the British Indian army, caused by the 'altered conditions of service introduced in 1856 by the new governor-general, *Lord Canning*. (2) The introduction into the Indian army of a new rifle requiring greased cartridges, erroneously supposed by the Sepoys to be smeared with hogs' or cows' fat.

ii. **Chief events during 1857.** (1) The mutiny broke out among the Sepoys or native troops at **Meerut** (May 10), and rapidly spread along the Ganges valley, attended with the massacre of many Europeans. **Delhi** was captured by the rebels, and the Mogul Empire revived by proclamation. (2) Fortunately British troops sailing to China, and Outram's troops returning from Persia (*antea*, IV), were available, and were diverted to India; but not before the mutineers had besieged **Lucknow** and **Cawnpore**, and the Europeans at Cawnpore had been **massacred** (June 27) through the treachery of *Nana Sahib*. (3) In September, Lucknow was temporarily relieved by *Havelock* and *Outram*, and Delhi was recaptured. The government was now able to limit the revolt chiefly to northern India and a few central Mahratta states.

iii. **Chief events during 1858.** (1) In March **Lucknow** was finally relieved by *Sir Colin Campbell*, and (2) in June **Gwalior** was captured by Sir Hugh Ross. British supremacy was gradually but completely restored during the year.

iv. **Reasons for the failure of the Mutiny.** (1) The timely presence of British troops on their way from Persia, and to China. (2) The lack of a supreme leader among the rebels to control and direct them. (3) The loyalty of many native princes and peoples, especially the Ghurkhas and Sikhs.

v. **Results of the Mutiny.** 1. A new **Government of India Act passed, June 1858**, its chief features being:—(1) The transference of the powers and territories of the East India Company to the Crown. (2) The creation of a **Viceroy of India** in place of a governor-general, and also of a *Secretary of State for India in London*, with a seat in the Cabinet, and with a council to advise him.

2. An improved system of education for the native middle and upper classes; together with a reorganized system of police and magistrates.

B₃. THE SECOND MINISTRIES OF DERBY, PALMERSTON, RUSSELL; THE THIRD OF DERBY; AND THE FIRST OF DISRAELI, 1858-68. THE SECOND REFORM ACT.

I. Domestic Affairs during the Second Derby Ministry, 1858-9.

- i. Events leading to Palmerston's resignation. 1. The attempt in Paris to murder Napoleon III, made by *Orsini*, February 1858. This, being due to the plotting of Italian refugees in England, produced a strong anti-British agitation in France.
2. Palmerston's 'Conspiracy to Murder' Bill, to suppress the plotters. It was defeated in the Commons, whereupon Palmerston resigned, February 1858.

ii. Lord Derby's Second Ministry, February 1858-June 1859.

1. Chief members:—

Derby—First Lord; *Disraeli*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Malmesbury*—Foreign Secretary; *Lord Stanley* (Derby's heir)—the first Secretary for India. ①

2. Chief achievements of the Ministry:—(1) The Indian Government Act, June 1858 (see above); (2) the Treaty of Tientsin, June 1858 (see B₂ IV, above); (3) an Act admitting Jews to Parliament, 1858; (4) the organization of the Volunteer Movement, as England's reply to French threats of war. (5) Abolition of property qualification for

3. Defeat of the Derby Ministry on their Bill for Parliamentary Reform, March 1859. At the resulting general election a Liberal majority was returned. ②

iii. Palmerston's Second Ministry (Whig and Liberal), June 1859-October 1865.

Chief members: *Palmerston*—First Lord; *Gladstone*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Russell*—Foreign Secretary; *Lewis*—Home Secretary; *Earl Granville*—President of Council.

II. Foreign Affairs during the Second Ministries of Derby and Palmerston, 1858-65.

- i. The movement for Italian Unity, 1859-66: under *Victor Emmanuel II*, King of Sardinia (antea, p. 300), and his able minister *Count Cavour*, supported by *Garibaldi*.

1. In 1859 war was declared by Sardinia and France against Austria's predominance in Italy. After Austria had been defeated at *Magenta* and *Solferino*, the war was closed by the *Treaty of Villafranca*, July 1859, by which *Savoy* and *Nice* were ceded to *Napoleon III* by Sardinia, and *Lombardy* to Sardinia.

2. In 1860 the central Italian states voluntarily united with Sardinia, and in 1861 *Victor Emmanuel* was made King of Italy (except

② Reform Bill - A uniform franchise in Town & Boro' of £10. A 40s freeholder in boro' robbed of his double vote. Later ch viewed as Tory dodge. Russell hopes a new

Venice and Rome). In 1866 the Italians captured Venetia from Austria (see V. i, below).

- ii. **The Insurrection in Poland, 1863**—ruthlessly crushed by Russia despite the remonstrances of Palmerston, who, however, declined to join Napoleon III in armed interference.
- iii. **The War against Denmark by Prussia and Austria, 1864**: in which Palmerston in vain tried to induce France to interfere. *Result of the war*—Denmark was deprived of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.
- iv. **The North American Civil War, 1861-5**. 1. *Chief cause*—the secession, in 1861, of the Southern States, led by *Jefferson Davis*, from the Union in order to form a Confederation of their own, owing to the fear that the Northern States, under *President Lincoln*, would abolish slavery.
 2. *A prolonged Civil War, 1861-5*, followed: in which a majority of the upper classes in Britain sympathized with the South; but a majority of the working classes with the North. The Palmerston Ministry maintained a strict neutrality; but they greatly offended the Northern States in 1861 by recognizing the Southern Confederacy as *belligerents*; not rebels. The episodes of **the Trent** (1861), and of **the Alabama** (1862-3) caused great excitement on both sides of the Atlantic. The war closed in 1865 by the victory of the Northern States and the abolition of slavery.

3. **Effects of the War in Britain.**

- (1) *The Lancashire Cotton Famine, 1861-5*, caused by the North blockading the ports of the South to prevent the exportation of cotton and other goods, and so to curtail the *resources* of the South. The famine was especially severe during 1862-3; but was relieved by the measures of the Palmerston government, and by enormous relief-funds raised voluntarily. (2) The growth of cotton greatly increased in India and Egypt for British markets. (3) *Anti-British feeling renewed in the Northern States* for many years. (4) The competition of America with Britain in the world's carrying trade checked by the destruction of American merchant-vessels during the war.

III. *Domestic Events under the Second Palmerston Ministry, 1859-65.*

- i. **Russell's Parliamentary Reform Bill, 1860**—withdrawn, owing partly to Palmerston's lack of enthusiasm. *The more reform bills, except hope of Perceval, would kill his seat.*

- ii. **Financial Measures, 1860-1**. 1. A *Commercial Treaty with France, 1860*, negotiated by **Cobden** (though not in office) on the lines of Pitt's treaty of 1786.

2. *Abolition of the Duty on Paper, 1861*—brought about, after the Lords had rejected a separate bill for it, by Gladstone including it in his Budget.

3. *A series of brilliant Budgets*—carried by Gladstone, 1860-5.

① Russell's Reform Bill - ④ Brought in to redeem promise made in opposition - subsequently withdrawn. (b) Bonnety franchise reduced to £10. Boro 6-2-6

- iii. **Events in the Royal Family.** 1. Death of the Prince Consort, December 1861.
 2. Marriage of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra of Denmark, 1863.
- iv. **Death of Palmerston, October 1865.** *Political results of his death:—*
 1. The collapse of Whiggism, and rise in its place of Liberalism under Gladstone.
 2. *The beginning of a new period of reform, which gradually substituted democracy for middle-class rule.*

IV. *Events during the Second Russell Ministry (Liberal), October 1865–June 1866.*

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry:** *Russell*—First Lord; *Gladstone*—Chancellor of Exchequer and Leader of the Commons; *Clarendon*—Foreign Secretary.

ii. Colonial Events.

1. Fenian invasion of Canada from the United States, May 1866. It was, however, suppressed through the action of the U.S. government.
 2. Negro rising in Jamaica, 1866: harshly suppressed by Governor Eyre.

- iii. **A Reform Bill introduced by Gladstone, February 1866:** to extend the franchise. Its defeat by the casual alliance of the 'Adullamite' Liberals and the Conservatives caused (1) the resignation of the Russell Ministry, and (2) reform agitations and riots in Hyde Park and elsewhere. — *The Reform League & London Working Men's Assn.* ①

V. *Events during the Third Derby Ministry, June 1866–February 1868.*

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry:** *Lord Derby*—First Lord; *Disraeli*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Stanley*—Foreign Secretary.

- ii. **The Seven-weeks' War against Austria by Prussia and Italy, June–August 1866:** decided by the Prussian victory of *Sadowa* (July 2), and closed by the *Peace of Prague* (August 23). *Results:* (1) *Prussia* became leader of the *North German Confederation*, and the penultimate step was taken towards German unity (see C₁ II. i, below). (2) *Austria* was expelled from the German Confederation, and from *Venetia*, which was ceded to Italy. (3) The dual monarchy of *Austria-Hungary* was formed.

iii. Irish Affairs, 1865–7.

1. **Disaffection in Ireland**—due to the continued agricultural distress, and to the activity of the *Fenian Brotherhood* (a secret society of Irishmen formed in America, 1858). The arrest of certain Fenians

① *The Bill* - (a) Poor 'franchise reduced from £10 to £7. - Loss of £10 to have vote (P) bonny occupation franchising reduced to £14. (c) Savings Bank Acc. of £50, for

the Act in its full effect. Disraeli had devised
of the work of Gladstone. Disraeli had devised
an additional system of checks, i.e. votes
CH. II VICTORIA
for education (earned professions) + ②
votes for property (bank accs. funds)
in Ireland, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 1865,
were followed by

2. **Fenian Risings.** (1) Canada was invaded from the United States, 1866 (above, IV. ii). (2) In September 1867 Fenians attacked a police-van in Manchester, and also the gaol in Clerkenwell—both to rescue Fenian prisoners. Several deaths resulted, but the risings were easily suppressed.

- iv. **The British North America Act, March 1867**—creating a scheme for incorporating all our North American colonies as the 'Dominion of Canada', with full self-government. The two Canadas, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia joined at once, Manitoba in 1870, Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Isle in 1873.

Note.—Newfoundland alone still keeps aloof, as a separate self-governed colony.

- v. **The Second Reform Act, 1867**: passed by Disraeli. 1. *Chief provisions* (refer *antea*, pp. 287–8):—

- (1) In towns—all male ratepayers enfranchised, and also lodgers paying at least £10 a year rent. (2) In counties—all occupiers of £12 yearly rental (in Scotland £14) enfranchised. (3) Forty-six seats taken from smaller boroughs (eleven being disfranchised) and allotted to larger towns, populous counties, and the London and Scottish universities.

2. *Effects*: (1) Household suffrage given to towns, and the rule of democracy thus initiated. The remaining years of the nineteenth century witnessed the development of democracy's nascent powers. (2) The number of Parliamentary measures of reform largely increased, both general and socialistic. (3) The conditions of the agricultural labourer gradually improved, followed by his political enfranchisement in 1885 (see *postea*, p. 316).

- vi. **Resignation of Lord Derby, February 1868**—owing to ill-health. Disraeli now became leader of the Conservative party.

VI. Events during Disraeli's First Ministry, February–December 1868.

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry**: Disraeli—First Lord; Ward Hunt—Chancellor of Exchequer; Lord Stanley—Foreign Secretary; Lord Cairns—Lord Chancellor.
- ii. **The War with Abyssinia, 1867–8.**

1. *Cause*—the unjustifiable imprisonment of several British subjects by King Theodore, who resented Great Britain's refusal to help him against Egypt.

2. *Events*: An expedition, sent under Sir R. Napier, captured the fortress of Magdala, and released the prisoners, April 1868. Theodore then committed suicide, and the expedition withdrew.

which were to be added to other votes & system of dual voting. (4 Belgium 6 day)

- iii. **Overthrow of the Ministry**—by Gladstone carrying a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Disraeli resigned when the ensuing general election in November showed a Liberal majority of 112.

C. THE PERIOD OF NASCENT DEMOCRACY, 1868-85.

C₁. THE FIRST MINISTRY OF GLADSTONE, 1868-74; REFORMS IN IRISH LAND, EDUCATION, THE ARMY, AND THE JUDICATURE.

I. *Domestic Events during Gladstone's First Ministry, December 1868-February 1874*: a period of great legislative activity.

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry**: Gladstone—First Lord; Robert Lowe—Chancellor of Exchequer; Clarendon—Foreign Secretary; Cardwell—War Secretary; Duke of Argyll, Lord Hartington, Earl Granville, Forster, Goschen, Bright, and others.
- ii. **Measures consequent on disaffection in Ireland**: 1. An Act passed *disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church*, 1869.
2. The *first Irish Land Act*, 1870—compelling landlords to compensate tenants for evictions, and for improvements in their holdings. It was only partially successful (*postea*, C₃ III. ii).
3. *Irish Peace Preservation Act*, 1870—to restore order in Ireland.

Note.—The Irish malcontents now formed a 'Home Government Association', its name being changed in 1873 to 'The Home Rule League'.

- iii. **Forster's great Elementary Education Act, 1870**. *Chief provisions*:—(1) **School Boards** to be established in all districts of England and Wales desiring them. (2) Power given to such Boards to compel all children of school age to attend some school (*postea*, D₁ II. v). (3) Sectarian religious education made *optional* in all elementary schools.

Note.—This epoch-making measure *laid the foundations of a really national system of education in England and Wales*, and enabled the government to begin 'to educate their masters', the working-classes generally. Until these should have been educated, and a sense of political responsibility developed in the bulk of them, democracy could not really rule: government would be in its name only.

- iv. **Cardwell's Army Reform Act, 1871**—to institute the short-service system. The purchase of army-commissions was *abolished by Royal Warrant* on account of the Lords' opposition to its abolition by bill.

- v. **The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1873**—by which all existing Courts of Law and Equity at Westminster were consolidated into *one Supreme Court of Judicature*, subdivided into a High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal.
- vi. **Other Measures, 1870-4.** (1) An Act *abolishing religious tests in Oxford and Cambridge Universities*, 1871—a corollary of Forster's Act (*above*). (2) An Act *legalizing Trades Unions*, 1871 (*antea*, p. 278). (3) **The Ballot Act, 1872**, to secure secrecy of voting.

II. *Foreign Affairs during 1868-74.*

- i. **The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1.** 1. *Events of the War:* in which all the German States sided with Prussia. (1) *In 1870:* German victories of Wörth, Gravelotte, and investment of Metz. (2) *In 1871:* defeat and capture of Napoleon III at Sedan; capture of Metz, and siege and fall of Paris. The war ended by the *Treaty of Frankfurt*, in which France ceded Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and agreed to pay £20,000,000 indemnity.
- 2. *Results:* (1) The completion of German unity by the formation of all the German States (except Austria) into a new *German Empire* under the King of Prussia as Emperor William I. (2) Establishment of *The Third Republic in France* (September 1870 till the present time). (3) Completion of *Italian unity* by France withdrawing its support of Papal independence. Rome now became the capital of Italy. (4) A lasting French resentment against Germany, and consequent new European alliances: *the Triple Alliance* of Germany, Austria, and Italy (1882); and, later, *the Dual Alliance* of France and Russia (1891), practically joined by Great Britain (1904).
- ii. **The Black Sea Conference of the Powers, 1871**—owing to Russia's threat to violate the Treaty of 1856, closing the Black Sea to Russian ships. *Results:* (1) removal from the Treaty of the clauses objected to by Russia, and (2) unpopularity of Gladstone's government in England for allowing it.
- iii. **The Alabama Question, 1871-2:** concerning the compensation claimed from England by the United States for injuries done by the warship Alabama to American interests in 1862 (refer *antea*, B, II. iv). By the *Treaty of Washington*, 1871, the claims were submitted by the two countries to arbitration at Geneva; but the resulting award of £3,000,000 against Britain greatly increased the government's unpopularity.
- iv. **The Ashanti War, 1872-4:** a punitive expedition under General Wolseley against King Koffi of Ashanti. The burning of Coomassie ended the war.
- v. **Grant of responsible government to Cape Colony, 1872**—with Parliament and Ministry as in Canada and Australia. (Also granted to Natal, 1893.)

- vi. **Fall of the First Gladstone Ministry, February 1874.** 1. In March 1873 Gladstone had resigned over his *Irish University Bill*, but resumed office on Disraeli refusing to form a ministry. However, finding his unpopularity increasing—especially over foreign affairs—Gladstone dissolved Parliament; and, when a Conservative majority was returned, he finally resigned, February 1874.

2. **The new Conservative Ministry:**

Disraeli (made *Earl of Beaconsfield* 1876)—First Lord; *Sir S. Northcote*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Derby*—Foreign Secretary, but succeeded by *Lord Salisbury*, 1878; *Cross*—Home Secretary; *Lord Carnarvon*—Colonial Secretary.

C₂. THE SECOND MINISTRY OF DISRAELI (BEACONSFIELD), 1874-80:
HIS 'SPIRITED' FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY.

I. *Foreign Affairs under Disraeli's Second Ministry, February 1874-March 1880.*

- i. **The Eastern Question again, 1875-6:** revived owing to the Sultan having neglected the reforms in his Christian provinces promised 1856 (*antea*, p. 304). In 1875 Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted against Turkish rule, and in 1876 Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro; but the risings were put down—that of Bulgaria in particular—with atrocious cruelty by the Turkish troops. During 1876 Gladstone roused all Britain with his denunciations of the atrocities committed. The Great Powers met in conference at *Constantinople*, January 1877, but failed to help the oppressed states, owing to British distrust of Russia.
- ii. **The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8:** begun by Russia to defend the Christian provinces.
 1. A Russian army besieged *Plevna* in the Balkans, January-December 1877, and, capturing it after a brilliant defence by *Osman Pasha*, advanced near to Constantinople.
 2. Great Britain now intervened (February 1878) by Beaconsfield sending a fleet to the Dardanelles, calling out the reserves, and hurrying *native troops from India to Malta*: measures which caused Lords Derby and Carnarvon to resign.
 3. The war was closed by the *Treaty of San Stefano*, March 1878, which secured Russian ascendancy over Turkey. To this Great Britain, pursuing its policy of 1840 and 1854, objected: and the **Berlin Congress** of the Great Powers (June) followed, to settle the Eastern Question. *Result*, the *Treaty of Berlin*, by which:—
 - (1) Bulgaria (north of the Balkans) received self-government, but tributary to the Sultan;
 - (2) Eastern Roumelia (south of the Balkans) was given a Christian governor under the Sultan's control;
 - (3) Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro became independent states;
 - (4) Bessarabia, and also Kars and Batoum were given to Russia;

- (5) Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under the control of Austria ;
- (6) reforms were promised to Armenia and Crete by the Sultan—but not carried into effect.

Note.—By separate agreement the Sultan ceded **Cyprus** to Britain in return for Britain's promise of protection to Asia Minor.

iii. **Affairs in Egypt, 1863-79:** under *Ismail Pasha*, grandson of Mehemet Ali (*antea*, p. 295).

1. In 1869 the Suez Canal, constructed by M. de Lesseps, was opened. In 1875 Disraeli secured from the Khedive his canal-shares (about half the total) for £4,000,000—a stroke which made Britain much the largest shareholder.
2. In 1876 Britain and France jointly intervened in the government of Egypt to protect their financial interests, threatened by Ismail's extravagant rule. In November 1879 they deposed Ismail in favour of his son *Tewfik*, and established a **Dual Control** over the latter's government (see C₃ II, *below*).

II. *Indian and Colonial Affairs, 1876-80.*

i. **Disraeli's Indian 'Forward Policy':** to check Russian intrigues in central Asia by establishing British influence in Afghanistan, and a 'scientific frontier' in NW. India. To carry out the new policy **Lord Lytton** was made Viceroy (1876-80), and Queen Victoria was proclaimed at Delhi as 'Empress of India', 1877.

ii. **The Second Afghan War, 1878-9.**

1. *Causes:* (1) British fear of Russian designs in Afghanistan, and (2) refusal of the Ameer, Sheer Ali, to receive a British mission at Kabul, though he received one from Russia.
2. *Events:* (1) Afghanistan was invaded by three British armies, November 1878; and the flight and death of Sheer Ali followed. By the *Treaty of Gundamuk* with his son Yakoub Khan, May 1879, Britain was allowed a Resident at Kabul, and control of the Kurum, Bholan, and Khyber passes. (2) But in September the new Resident, *Sir Louis Cavagnari*, was murdered, and the war renewed. *General Roberts* then invaded Afghanistan (November), captured Kabul, and deposed Yakoub. (3) On the fall of the Beaconsfield ministry, April 1880, *Lord Ripon* was made Viceroy of India (1880-4) by Gladstone, with a change of policy. But first, General Burrows having been defeated at **Maiwand** (July), General Roberts made a brilliant march from Kabul to Kandahar, and defeated the Afghans (August-September 1880). Then the British troops were withdrawn, and Abdurrahman, Yakoub's brother, was gradually established on the Afghan throne by Britain, which also retained control of the chief passes to India.

iii. **Affairs in South Africa, 1877-9.** 1. **British annexation of the Transvaal, 1877** (*antea*, B₁ II. iii), in order to secure the safety of all whites in S. Africa—greatly endangered by the aggressiveness of the Zulu tribes under *Cetewayo*. In 1878 an ultimatum was sent

by *Sir Bartle Frere*, British Commissioner at the Cape, requiring Cetewayo to disband the military organization of his tribes.

2. **Outbreak of the Zulu War (1878-9)**, followed by the invasion of Zululand (November 1878). A British force under Lord Chelmsford was defeated at **Isandula**, January 1879; but another force successfully held **Rorke's Drift** against the Zulu onslaught. In July Chelmsford gained a decisive victory at **Ulundi**, and captured Cetewayo (August). Zululand was then successfully settled by *Sir Garnet Wolseley* (*postea*, C₃ I. ii).

III. *Domestic Events under Disraeli's Ministry, 1874-80.*

- i. **Measures connected with religion.** (1) *The Scottish Church Patronage Act*, 1874, giving congregations the right to choose their own ministers (*antea*, A₂ III). (2) *The Public Worship Regulation Act*, 1874, to put down Ritualism (*antea*, A₂ III).

- ii. **Social legislation.** (1) *The Agricultural Holdings Act*, 1875, giving tenants the right of compensation for unexhausted improvements. (2) *The Artisans' Dwellings Act*, 1875. (3) An Act consolidating the Factory Acts, 1878.

- iii. **Events in Ireland.** (1) *C. S. Parnell* made President of the Home Rule League, 1878, after initiating a new policy of 'obstruction' in the Commons, and founding a new **Irish National Party**. (2) Foundation of the **Irish Land League** by this party, 1879, followed by its crusade against 'landlordism' and 'rack-rents'.

- iv. **Change of the Administration.** 1. **Fall of the Beaconsfield Ministry, March 1880,**

due to: (1) its weakness in finance, (2) the defeat of its bill for placing the London water-supply under a Board, and (3) the 'Midlothian Speeches' of Gladstone (who had retired from active politics in 1876) against the government's foreign policy. The general election, March 1880, returned a large Liberal majority.

2. **The Second Ministry of Gladstone, April 1880-June 1885.** *Chief members*:

Gladstone—First Lord and Chancellor of Exchequer; *Lord Granville*—Foreign Secretary; *Sir William Harcourt*—Home Secretary; *Lord Hartington*—Indian Secretary; *Childers*—War Secretary; *Lord Kimberley*—Colonial Secretary; *W. E. Forster*—Irish Secretary till 1882, then *Lord Frederick Cavendish*; *John Bright*, Chamberlain, *Fawcett*, *Dilke*, and others.

C., THE SECOND MINISTRY OF GLADSTONE, AND FIRST OF SALISBURY, 1880-6; TRANSVAAL, IRISH, AND EGYPTIAN TROUBLES, AND THE THIRD REFORM ACT.

I. *Colonial Affairs under Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-5.*

i. Events connected with India.

- (1) Change of policy in Afghanistan, June 1880, after the Gladstone ministry took office (see *above*), followed by the gradual advance of Russian annexations towards Afghanistan (1881-4). (2) Russian occupation of **Penjdeh**, March 1885, within the Afghan borders. War between Great Britain and Russia now threatened, but was averted by the *arbitration of the King of Denmark*, 1885, the result of which gave Penjdeh to Russia.

ii. Rebellion of the Transvaal Boers, December 1880. 1. *Causes:*

- (1) Removal of the danger formerly threatening them from the Zulus (see *above*); (2) the mismanagement of the British military governors.
2. *Events:* The Boers defeated *Sir George Colley* at **Laing's Nek**, and completely overwhelmed him at **Majuba Hill** (February 1881), Colley being killed.
3. *Results:* (1) *The Pretoria Convention*, March 1881, which granted self-government to the Transvaal, subject to British suzerainty. (2) Visit of *President Kruger* to England, 1884, resulting in the *London Convention*, which granted independence to the Transvaal as *The South African Republic*, but retained British control over its foreign policy.

II. *Foreign Affairs under Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-5.*

i. Egyptian troubles, 1881-5.

1. **Insurrection of Arabi Pasha, September 1881**—a native official—to secure 'Egypt for the Egyptians', and to overthrow the Dual Control (*antea*, C₂ I. iii). France refusing to aid in restoring order, Great Britain had to undertake the task alone. (1) In July 1882 **Alexandria** was bombarded by Admiral Seymour, and (2) in September Arabi was defeated and captured at **Tel-el-Kebir** by Sir Garnet Wolseley. (3) *Results:* (a) the Khedive was restored to nominal power, subject to British advice, and (b) the Dual Control was abolished by the Khedive, February 1883.

Note.—Britain was henceforth in practical control of Egypt, though under a promise to France to withdraw when stable government should be established.

2. **The Rising of the Mahdi**—a religious fanatical leader in the Eastern Soudan—against Egyptian rule, 1883. (1) In November 1883 he defeated an Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha at El Obeid. (2) In January 1884 *General Gordon* was sent to Khartum to withdraw

the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan, but was cut off in Khartum by the Mahdi. (3) A British expedition was then sent under *Lord Wolseley* to relieve Gordon, but on January 28, 1885, Khartum was found to be fallen and Gordon killed (January 26). (4) The Khedive now abandoned the Sudan to the Mahdi.

ii. **The Triple Alliance**—formed by Germany, Austria, and Italy—October 1882.

iii. **The Berlin Congress of European Powers, November 1884–February 1885**: to settle European claims in Africa. *Results*: (1) Free navigation of the Congo, Niger, Zambesi, and Shiré rivers given to all nations. (2) The Congo basin secured to the Congo Free State, founded earlier by King Leopold II of Belgium. (3) Portuguese territory extended to the south bank of the Congo, and French Congo established north of the Congo estuary.

III. Home Events under Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880–5.

i. **Legislative Measures.** (1) The *Burials Act*, 1881—allowing Nonconformists to bury in churchyards. (2) The Employers' Liability Act, 1881. (3) Bankruptcy Laws' Improvement Act, 1883. (4) The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882.

ii. **Irish Events.** 1. Activity of the Land League (*antea*, C₂ III), resulting in (1) agrarian agitations and violence in Ireland, and continuance of 'obstruction' in Parliament; (2) the *Second Irish Land Act*, 1881 (the first, 1870), setting up a Land Court for fixing rents between tenants and landlords, and (3) the *Protection of Life and Property Act*, 1881, which was followed by the arrest of Parnell and forty other Irish leaders. When, later, all these were released from Kilmainham Gaol, Lord Cowper and Forster (Irish Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary) resigned.

2. **Murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Irish Secretary, and Mr. Burke** in Phoenix Park, Dublin, May 4, 1882—followed by a stringent *Prevention of Crimes Act*, 1882. The Land League was suppressed; but only to reappear as *The National League*.

iii. **The Third Reform Act, 1884–5**, in two parts (*antea*, pp. 287, 309):—

1. **The Franchise Bill, passed December 1884**, giving the same household suffrage and lodger franchise to **counties**, as had been given in 1867 to the boroughs.

2. **The Redistribution of Seats Bill, passed June 1885**, providing:— (1) all large boroughs and populous counties to be cut up into single-member divisions of 50,000 or over, except the old two-member boroughs having 50,000–165,000 population. (2) All boroughs below 15,000 population to be without separate M.P.'s, and all below 50,000 to have only one member. (3) The total members from England, Scotland, and Ireland to remain the same (670).

Results of the Act: The country was placed under a democratic form of

(2) This Redistribution was forced on the country by the Tory party (the Lords) in order to separate the

government; but, owing partly to lack of interest among the lower classes, partly to their incomplete education, the government continued for another twenty years to be carried on *in the name of* democracy, rather than by it as a whole (*antea*, p. 310).

- iv. **Fall of the Second Gladstone Ministry, June 1885**, *due to* (1) its unsteadfast foreign policy (due in turn to divisions of opinion in the Cabinet), especially its policy in Egypt, culminating in Gordon's death, and its unsatisfactory settlement of the Penjdeh episode; (2) Gladstone's Irish policy, and the Phoenix Park murders; (3) finally, the rejection of Gladstone's Budget proposals in the Commons, June 1885—upon which the ministry resigned.

IV. *Events under Salisbury's First Ministry, June 1885–January 1886.*

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry:** *Salisbury*—First Lord and Foreign Secretary; *Hicks-Beach*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Hart-Dyke*—Irish Secretary; *Lord R. Churchill*, *A. J. Balfour*, and others.
- ii. **Colonial Events.**
 1. **The Third Burmese War, 1885–6** (*antea*, p. 299): *caused by the* tyranny of King Theebaw. It closed with the annexation of *Upper Burmah*, February 1886, by Lord Dufferin (Indian Viceroy, 1884–8).
 2. Change of conditions in South Africa—caused by discoveries of rich goldfields in the Transvaal, 1885. A mixed white population quickly accumulated there, thus endangering the preponderance of power in S. Africa hitherto centred at Capetown.
- iii. **Irish affairs.** (1) *Lord Ashbourne's Act*, 1885, passed to help Irish tenants to buy their holdings. (2) Renewed activity of the Irish National League under Parnell.
- iv. **Resignation of Salisbury, January 1886**—*due to* the results of the first general election under the new Reform Act. The return of 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 86 Home Rulers gave a balance of power to the last-named, and caused a great change in the relationship of parties.

D. PERIOD OF ADOLESCENT DEMOCRACY: THE HOME RULE STRUGGLE AND IMPERIALISM, 1886–1901.

- D₁. THE THIRD MINISTRY OF GLADSTONE AND SECOND OF SALISBURY, 1886–92: THE FIRST HOME RULE BILL, AND THE FIRST PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM.

I. *Events under Gladstone's Third Ministry, February–July 1886.*

1. **Chief members of the Ministry:** *Gladstone*—First Lord and Privy Seal; *Lord Rosebery*—Foreign Secretary; *Sir William Harcourt*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *J. Morley*—Irish Secretary; *J. Cham-*

berlain, Trevelyan, Mundella, Lords Spencer, Granville, Ripon, and others.

- ii. **Gladstone's Home Rule Bill for Ireland, April-June 1886:** proposing to establish a Parliament at Dublin for Irish affairs, and to exclude Irish members from Westminster. It was defeated in the Commons by 343 to 313 (93 Liberals voting against it).

Results: (1) A split in the Liberal ranks, the formation of the *Liberal Unionist party*, and the ascendancy of the Conservatives practically for nineteen years. (2) The adoption of Home Rule in the Liberal programme, and the consequent gradual weakening of the old racial antagonism between the Irish and English peoples. (3) The increased activity of the Irish Nationalists in various forms.

- iii. **Resignation of the Gladstone Ministry:** consequent on the general election in July, when only 191 Home Rule Liberals were returned besides the Irish members.

II. *Events under Salisbury's Second Ministry, August 1886-August 1892.*

- i. **Chief members:** *Salisbury*—First Lord; *Lord Iddesleigh* (Sir S. Northcote)—Foreign Secretary; *Lord R. Churchill*, succeeded in January 1887 by *Goschen*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Hicks-Beach*, succeeded in March 1887 by *A. J. Balfour*—Irish Secretary; *W. H. Smith*, succeeded in 1891 by *Balfour*—Leader of the Commons.
- ii. **Irish Events.** 1. The 'Plan of Campaign' initiated by the Nationalists, 1886, to unite all Irish tenants against the landlords. This caused an *Irish Crimes Act* to be passed, 1887; but also the *Third Irish Land Act*, enlarging the scope of that of 1881.
 2. **The Parnell Commission, 1888-9**, appointed to inquire into certain charges of inciting to treason and crime made by *The Times* newspaper against Parnell. The chief witness proved a forger, and Parnell was acquitted.
 3. **Split in the Irish party, 1890**—consequent on Parnell being involved in a grave scandal. His death, 1891, checked the Home Rule movement for many years.
- iii. **Britain's Foreign Relations, 1889-90**, with France, Germany, and Russia—very unsettled and disturbing. (1) In *France* irritation was felt against Britain owing to the continued British occupation of Egypt, and the trade rivalry in Madagascar, Nigeria, and the Sudan. (2) In *Germany* there was a strong anti-British feeling, due to (a) the adverse influence of Bismarck, (b) increasing commercial rivalry, (c) colonial rivalry in Africa (see *below*). (3) Between *Russia* and Great Britain there was jealousy over Afghanistan, and the 'ever-open Eastern Question'. In 1891 Russia and France formed the 'Dual Alliance'.

iv. **African and Colonial Affairs, 1886-9**: connected with the activities of European countries in Africa.

1. 'The Scramble for Africa' begun 1884 by Germany establishing German Damaraland and, later, German East Africa.
2. **Revival of British Chartered Companies**—companies formed to exploit the resources of, and to govern under British protection, the lands granted them by Royal Charter. Such were :—(1) The Royal Niger Company, 1886; (2) the Imperial British East Africa Company, 1888; (3) the British South Africa Company, 1889, under *Cecil Rhodes*, with authority over Matabeleland and Mashonaland (later *Rhodesia*).
3. **Four colonial treaties made by Britain with European countries** to define their 'spheres of influence' in Africa :—(1) *With Germany*, 1890: defining the British and German 'spheres' in East and SW. Africa. A *British protectorate over Zanzibar* was also agreed upon, and *Heligoland* was ceded to Germany in compensation. (2) *With France*, 1890—recognizing British rule in Zanzibar, and French rule in Madagascar. (3) *With Portugal*, 1891—defining British and Portuguese territory in East and West Africa. (4) *With Italy*, 1891—defining British and Italian Somaliland.

v. **Domestic Events.**

1. **Celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, 1887.** It was especially marked by the first 'Colonial Conference' of the home government with representatives from the chief colonies.
2. **The Local Government Act, 1888**: passed to establish *County Councils* in England and Wales. The councils were to be elected by household suffrage.
3. **The Free Education Act, 1891**: passed to provide free education in all elementary schools, though it also made it compulsory.
4. **Resignation of Salisbury, August 1892**—consequent on the general election, when a Home Rule majority of forty was returned.

D₂. THE FOURTH MINISTRY OF GLADSTONE, AND THE ROSEBERY MINISTRY, 1892-5: SECOND PERIOD OF THE HOME RULE STRUGGLE.

I. *Chief Events under Gladstone's Fourth Ministry, August 1892-March 1894.*

- i. **Chief members of the Ministry**: Gladstone—First Lord and Privy Seal; Rosebery—Foreign Secretary; Harcourt—Chancellor of Exchequer; J. Morley—Irish Secretary; Asquith—Home Secretary; Lord Ripon, Lord Spencer, Campbell Bannerman, Acland, Bryce, and others.
- ii. **Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill, February-August 1893**: proposing as before, but retaining the Irish members at West-

minster. It was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords by 419 to 41 votes.

Note.—The Ministry, however, held to office, hoping, as it was said, to 'fill up the cup' against the Lords by giving them the opportunity of rejecting other important measures, and then to appeal to the electors to sanction the reform of the Upper House.

iii. **The District and Parish Councils Act, 1894**—which established District Councils (Urban and Rural), and Parish Councils and Meetings. This measure completed the scheme of local government begun by the County Councils Act of 1888.

iv. **Foreign and Colonial Affairs.**

1. Dispute with France over the Siamese boundaries, 1893. It was not settled finally until 1896.
2. The *First Matabele rebellion*, 1893-4 : against the rule of the British South Africa Company.

v. **Resignation of Gladstone, March 1894**, on account of age.

Note.—Lord Rosebery became the new Liberal leader. Gladstone had sat in Parliament almost without a break from 1832 to 1894. He died in 1898, aged 88 years.

II. *Events under the Rosebery Administration, March 1894-June 1895.*

- i. **Chief members of Ministry :** *Lord Rosebery*—First Lord and President of the Council ; *Lord Kimberley*—Foreign Secretary ; the others as in the previous ministry.
 - ii. **Colonial Events.** (1) A *British protectorate* established over *Uganda* (E. Africa), 1894. (2) The *Chitral* (N. India) Relief expedition, 1895.
 - iii. **Foreign Events.** 1. War between China and Japan, 1894, ending in the easy victory of the latter. *Japan now rose into the position of a first-class power.*
 2. *The Armenian Massacres*, 1894, by Turkish soldiers (repeated 1895-6). The news of the details roused great indignation in the British Isles.
 - iv. **Domestic Events.** 1. *Sir William Harcourt's Budget* of 1894, by which *death-duties* were established.
 2. Passage by the Commons of a *Welsh Disestablishment Bill*, a *Local Veto Bill*, an *Irish Land Bill*, and other measures. They were rejected by the Lords, or withdrawn through fear of rejection. But the *Factory and Workshops Act* was passed 1895.
 3. **Resignation of the Rosebery Ministry, June 1895 :** consequent on a surprise defeat in the Commons. The general election returned a Conservative majority of 152 over Liberals and Nationalists combined.
 4. **The new Unionist Ministry** (June 1895-July 1902).
- (1) *Conservatives :* *Lord Salisbury*—Foreign Secretary ; *Balfour*—First Lord and Leader of Commons ; *Hicks-Beach*—Chancellor of Ex-

chequer; (2) *Liberal Unionists*: *Duke of Devonshire* (Hartington)—President of Council; *Chamberlain*—Colonial Secretary; *Goschen*—First Lord of Admiralty; *Lord Lansdowne*—War Secretary.

D₃. THE THIRD MINISTRY (UNIONIST) OF SALISBURY, 1895-1902: THE
SECOND PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM.

I. *Colonial Affairs, 1895-9.*

- i. **The Venezuela dispute, 1895-9**: between Great Britain and the United States, over the boundaries between Venezuela and British Guiana. It was referred in 1897 to arbitration, and settled in 1899 largely in favour of Britain.
- ii. **The Jameson Raid into the Transvaal, December 1895**: an attempt to help the *Uitlanders* (i.e. foreigners) and Reformers there to revolt against the Boer government and President Kruger by an unofficial invasion of the Transvaal. The Raid was completely defeated by the Boers, and Jameson and other raiders were captured. They were tried in London and imprisoned (see III. iii, *below*).
- iii. **The Second Matabele rebellion, 1896**: suppressed by Cecil Rhodes and Colonel Plumer.
- iv. **Reconquest of the Sudan under General Kitchener, 1896-8**: undertaken by Great Britain in behalf of Egypt. 1. In 1896 Dongola was occupied, and victories were gained over the dervishes at the **Atbara** and **Omāurman**. Khartum was reoccupied, 1898.
2. **The Fashoda Episode, 1898-9**: due to Major Marchand and a French force from Nigeria occupying Fashoda on the Upper Nile, 1898, in order to anticipate Kitchener. It was settled by an Anglo-French agreement, 1899, which defined the respective spheres of influence in the Sudan.
- v. **The Ashanti Expedition, 1896**: which ended in the submission of King Prempeh, and the establishment of a *British protectorate over Ashanti* (refer *antea*, C₁ II. iv).
- vi. **Events in India.** (1) The Tirah expedition against the Afridis (NW. frontier of India). The Afridis were defeated at **Dargai**, 1897, but did not submit till 1899. (2) Severe famine in India, 1896-9.

II. *Foreign Events, 1895-1901.*

- i. **The Greco-Turkish War, 1897**—over Crete. It ended in the defeat of the Greeks.
- ii. **The Spanish-American War, 1898-9**: due to Spain's refusal to recognize Cuban independence, as demanded by the United States. *Result*: Spain lost all her remaining American possessions, and the Philippines as well.
- iii. **Anglo-Russian agreement, 1899**: by which British and Russian spheres of influence and trade in China were arranged.

- iv. **The Peace Conference at the Hague, 1899**: to discuss the questions of general disarmament, and of arbitration in place of war. An international Arbitration Board was established by the Powers.
- v. **The Boxer Rising in China against Foreigners, 1900**: suppressed by the joint action of the European Powers, the United States, and Japan.

III. *Colonial Events, 1899-1902.*

- i. **A British Protectorate established in Nigeria, 1900**: taken over from the Royal Nigeria Company.
- ii. **The Australian Federation Act passed by the Home Parliament, July 1900.** It united the Australian colonies into a **Commonwealth with a Federal Parliament**, but continued the Parliaments for each separate colony also.
- iii. **The Boer War in South Africa, 1899-1902.**
 - 1. *Causes.* (1) The ill-feeling of the Boers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State towards Britain, on account of events since their first trek north from the Cape in 1836. (2) The ambition of Boers generally to unite all South Africa under an 'Afrikander' independent government. (3) The Boer victories over the British at Laing's Nek and Majuba in 1881, and the subsequent 'magnanimity' of the Gladstone government in granting practical independence to the Transvaal. The Boers' contempt for British power was thereby probably roused. (4) The Boers' fear of being outnumbered by the Uitlanders (largely British) settling in the Rand after the discovery of gold, and the consequent obstinacy of the Transvaal government in not redressing the Uitlander grievances concerning franchise, heavy taxation, and bad government. (5) Boer resentment at the frequent interference of Great Britain, as the suzerain power, in behalf of the Uitlanders, 1890-6. (6) *The Jameson Raid*, 1895-6, which had caused an increase of race-hatred between Dutch and British in South Africa, and a secret increase of Boer armaments. (7) The Transvaal Ultimatum to the British government, October 1899, demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops then assembling on the Natal frontier, and other impossible terms. [Refer *antea*, pp. 294, 315, 317, 321.]
 - 2. *Events of 1899.* (1) Natal was invaded by Boers from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, October 12, 1899, and **Ladysmith**, **Kimberley**, and **Mafeking** were besieged by other Boer forces, October 1899. Several British defeats followed during the attempts to relieve them. (2) British troops were defeated at **Magersfontein**, **Colenso**, and **Stormberg**, all in one week of December 1899—the 'black week'. As a result **Lord Roberts** was sent to supersede General Buller, with **Lord Kitchener** as chief of his staff.
 - 3. *Events of 1900.* (1) **Kimberley** was relieved by General French (February 15, 1900); **Ladysmith**, by General Buller (February

28); and **Mafeking**, by Colonels Mahon and Plumer (May 18). (2) General Cronje surrendered to Lord Roberts at **Paardeberg**, and **Bloemfontein** was occupied, March 1900. The Free State was then *annexed as the Orange River Colony*. (3) **Pretoria** was occupied by Roberts, June 1900, and the *Transvaal annexed*. The Boer army under *General Botha* was now broken up, and Lord Roberts returned to England, leaving Kitchener in command.

Note.—For the close of the war see next reign (*postea*, p. 326).

IV. *Domestic Events, 1895-1901.*

- i. **The Queen's Diamond Jubilee, 1897:** to celebrate the sixtieth year of her reign.
- ii. **Irish Affairs.** (1) A new *Irish Land Act passed*, 1896, and also (2) an *Irish Local Government Act*, 1898, extending the system of County Councils to Ireland.
- iii. **Political Party Affairs.** (1) In 1896 Lord Rosebery was succeeded as Liberal leader by *Sir William Harcourt*, who in turn was succeeded by *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* in 1899. (2) At the general election in 1900, an increased majority of Conservatives was returned. (3) *Changes were then made in the Ministry: Lord Lansdowne*—Foreign Secretary in place of Lord Salisbury (still Prime Minister); *Brodrick*—War Secretary; *Lord Selborne*—First Lord of Admiralty.
- iv. **Death of Queen Victoria, January 22, 1901**—before the close of the Boer war. She had reigned sixty-three and a half years.

V. *Summary of the Chief Features of the Reign and Period.*

- i. **Internal features.** 1. **Political and constitutional:** (1) The extension of political power through the middle classes—first to the democracy of the *towns*, by the Reform Act of 1867; then to that of the *counties*, by the Reform Act of 1884-5.
- (2) The consequent increase in the number and variety of legislative measures of reform affecting the well-being of the working classes. 'State-socialism' was applied to education, sanitation and public health, housing, factories and workshops, food-supplies, and other matters of general welfare.
- (3) The development of the two chief political parties, Conservative and Liberal—the former under Disraeli's leadership in the direction of a 'spirited' policy in foreign and imperial affairs, the latter under Gladstone in the direction of democratic legislation and national finance.
- (4) The growth of political agitations as means of educating public opinion and influencing Parliament and the government: e.g. those of the Chartist movement, the Anti-Corn-Law League, the

movements leading to the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, the Home-Rule movement, and the Labour movement.

2. **Religious:** (1) The complete establishment of religious freedom for all the sects by the gradual removal of their civil disabilities and restrictions. This was followed by a great increase in their influence upon the national life. (2) The growth of the Tractarian or Oxford movement within the Church of England, and the consequent revival of Ritualism and the 'High Church' party. (3) The spread of the Free-Kirk movement in Scotland. (4) The disestablishment of the Irish Church.
3. **Educational:** (1) The repeal of the paper-duties, and consequent cheapening of the means of education. (2) The Education Acts, establishing compulsory and free education, and thus bringing the poorest classes within the influence of a national system of education. (3) The opening up of secondary and technical education to all classes. (4) The spread of higher education of all kinds amongst women.
4. **Commercial and general:** (1) The spread of free-trade principles, the repeal of the Corn-Laws, and the establishment of Free-Trade. (2) The greatly increased facilities of communication by railways, steamships, tramways, telegraph, telephone, wireless telegraph, and the penny post. (3) The rapid development of manufacturing industries consequent on (1) and (2), accompanied by an enormous increase of both home and foreign trade. (4) The change in agricultural industries consequent on (1) and (3), denoted by the decline in wheat-production, and the great increase in cattle-rearing and dairy-farming.

Note.—The specially important *measures of social legislation* were:

- (1) The establishment of the Penny Post, 1839; (2) the Factory Acts restricting the labour of women and children, 1844, 1847, and 1878; (3) the repeal of the Corn-Laws, 1846; (4) the Second Reform Act, 1867, and the Third Reform Act, 1884-5; (5) the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 and 1891; (6) the legalization of Trade Unions, 1871; (7) the Ballot Act, 1872; (8) the Local Government Acts, 1888 and 1894.
5. **Naval and Military:** (1) The development in the building of iron-clads, and in the making of larger guns. (2) The reorganization of the Army since 1856. (3) The growth of the Volunteer movement since 1858.
6. **Concerning Ireland:** (1) The agitations for repeal of the Union carried on by O'Connell, 1830-43; by the Young Ireland party, 1842-8; by the Fenian movement, 1858-86; and by the Home-Rule movement after 1870 under Parnell, M'Carthy, and Redmond. (2) The Potato-famine, 1845-9, and the consequent distress and agrarian troubles. (3) The Irish Land Acts of 1870, 1881, 1885, and 1896. (4) The Phoenix Park murders, 1882. (5) The various Acts for the suppression of crime. (6) Gladstone's two Home-Rule Bills, 1886 and 1892, and the adoption of Home-Rule as part of the Liberal party's programme. (7) The Local Government Act, 1898, granting county councils to Ireland.

ii. Foreign features.

1. The development of the Eastern Question, and consequent increase of antagonism between Great Britain and Russia in regard not only to Turkey but also to Afghanistan and Persia.
2. The development of the Egyptian Question between Great Britain and France concerning the control, first of Egypt, then of the Upper Nile—with the consequent periods of strained relations between the two countries.
3. The third French Revolution (1848) and its influence on the British Isles, Italy, Germany, and Austria.
4. The Franco-German War, and rise of Germany to be the chief military power in Europe.
5. The Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy (1882), and the later Dual Alliance of France and Russia (1891) to counteract its influence.
6. The Civil War in America, and the ill-feeling engendered in the Northern States against Britain.
7. The development of a keen commercial rivalry and consequent political bitterness between Great Britain and Germany.
8. The rise of Japan into a first-class *military* power after its war with China.
9. The gradual development by Great Britain after 1856 of a foreign policy of 'isolation', and of abstention from *armed* interference in strictly continental politics.
10. The growth of the ideal of **arbitration**, begun by Britain and the United States (1872), as a means to settle international disputes and prevent wars.
11. The spread abroad of nationalism—the union of kindred peoples into separate, self-governing nations or democracies.

iii. Colonial features.

1. The grant of self-government to the larger colonies on the lines of Lord Durham's Report, first to Canada, then to the various Australian colonies and Cape Colony. This was followed by the establishment of **federation**: in the Dominion of Canada, 1867, and in the Australian Commonwealth, 1900.
2. The expansion of the British Empire:—(1) *In Africa*—by annexations, chartered companies, and protectorates. (2) *In Asia*—by numerous annexations in India and the adjacent regions. (3) *In Australia*—by colonization and annexation. (4) *In Polynesia*—by the annexation of several islands and island-groups. (5) *In Europe*—by cession (Cyprus).
3. The establishment of quicker means of communication between Great Britain and her possessions by steamship-routes, telegraph-cables, and cheap postage.
4. The development of the idea of **Imperialism**—of linking the various parts of the British Empire into closer union *by means* of (a) periodic colonial and imperial *conferences* in London, (b) plans for both the individual and the common *defence* of home country and colonies, and (c) measures for fostering inter-colonial *trade* and other common interests.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD VII, 1901-1910

- (i) **CHARACTER OF EDWARD VII.** Coming to the throne at the age of fifty-nine, the new King had already gained a large experience of public affairs, not only at home but also abroad. Possessed of great natural ability and powers of observation, his extensive travels in Europe, the Colonies, and America had given breadth to his views and tastes, and had made him an earnest lover of peace. His geniality, frankness, tolerance, and practical sympathy with all classes of his subjects, made him increasingly popular throughout his reign.
- (ii) **HIS POLICY.** 1. **Domestic:** to observe a rigid impartiality towards the political parties, and to rule on strictly constitutional lines, while maintaining the right of the Crown to serve the state actively in foreign affairs.
2. **Foreign:** to use his wide influence as a kinsman of most of the reigning monarchs of Europe for the preservation of European peace, and especially to improve the friendly relations of Great Britain with her neighbours.

Note.—His devotion to, and success in, the interests of peace earned for him the well-merited title of **Edward the Peacemaker**.

(iii) **THE MINISTRIES OF EDWARD VII'S REIGN.**

- (1) The Third Salisbury Ministry (Unionist), June 1895–July 1902.
- (2) The Balfour Ministry (Unionist), July 1902–December 1905.
- (3) The Campbell-Bannerman Ministry (Liberal), December 1905–April 1908.
- (4) The Asquith Ministry (Liberal), April 1908–

A. CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM, 1901-5: THE UNIONIST MINISTRIES OF SALISBURY (THIRD 1895-1902) AND BALFOUR (1902-5).

I. *The Close of the Boer War, 1901-2; and Change of Unionist Ministry.*

- i. **Boer efforts to prolong the War** (refer *antea*, p. 323) :—(1) By the Boer leaders adopting guerilla methods north of the Orange River. But these were only temporarily successful. (2) By *General Botha's* unsuccessful invasion of Natal. (3) By *De Wet's* invasion of Cape Colony, which uselessly prolonged the war for some months.
- ii. **Boer negotiations:** opened 1902 with Lord Milner (High Com-

missioner of S. Africa) and Lord Kitchener (Commander-in-Chief). They resulted in the final surrender of the Boer army.

iii. **The Peace of Pretoria, May 1902.** *Chief terms:—*

- (1) The Boers to swear allegiance to King Edward, and then to be allowed to retain their arms for self-defence; to be restored to their farms; and to be compensated for losses. (2) The Dutch language to be recognized; civil administration to be restored at once, and self-government to be granted at a later stage (see *below*, B, I. i).

iv. **Resignation of Lord Salisbury, July 1902:** on account of ill-health. He died August 1903.

v. **Accession of the Balfour Ministry to office.**

Chief members. (1) *Conservatives*: Balfour—Prime Minister and First Lord; C. T. Ritchie—Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Halsbury—Lord Chancellor. (2) *Liberal Unionists*: J. Chamberlain—Colonial Secretary; Duke of Devonshire—Lord President of Council; Lord Lansdowne—Foreign Secretary.

II. *Colonial and Foreign Affairs during the Balfour Ministry, 1902-5.*

- i. **Introduction of Chinese Coolies into S. Africa**—owing to the depression of trade there. The home government allowed their introduction under indentures in order to provide labour in the mines in place of the native Kaffirs, and at lower wages. The terms of their contract-service were, however, denounced at home as those of slavery.
- ii. **Foreign policy under Lord Lansdowne**: to improve Great Britain's relations with foreign countries (so much cooled by the Boer war) by changing the old policy of isolation for one of limited alliances.
- iii. **The Anglo-Japanese Alliance** followed in 1902.
- iv. **Establishment of an 'Entente Cordiale' with France, 1903-4.**

In 1904 the *Anglo-French Convention* was made, by which:—

- (a) *France* recognized the British occupation of Egypt, and also abandoned her fishery claims in Newfoundland (the latter, a source of quarrels since the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713). (b) *Great Britain* recognized the special interests of France in Morocco, as well as the French sovereignty over Madagascar; and also ceded territory to France in W. Africa.

Note.—The Convention was followed by a diplomatic quarrel between Germany and France, and by an increase of German suspicion of England.

- v. **The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5**: which ended in the victory of Japan, and her acquisition of territorial and commercial rights in Manchuria, north of China. In Russia grave internal troubles and attempts at revolution followed (see *below*, B. III).

III. *Domestic Affairs under the Balfour Ministry, 1902-5.*

i. **The Education Act of 1902.** Its *chief provisions* were :—

- (1) All local educational administration in England and Wales to be entrusted to the *county councils* and *county-borough councils*, the old School Board of 1870 being abolished and its place taken by an *Education Committee* of each council, with larger functions. (2) All *elementary* schools, voluntary or otherwise, to be maintained out of the funds of the new Committees—drawn from local rates and government grants. (3) *Secondary* education also to be provided, if necessary, by the new Committees—out of school-fees, government grants, and a limited local rate. (4) *Religious* instruction *not* to be provided by the Education Committees in any school.

ii. **The Irish Land Purchase Act, 1903 :** which empowered the State to lend money to Irish tenants desirous of purchasing their farms.

iii. **The Licensing Act, 1904 :** which provided for a reduction in the number of public-houses on certain conditions.

iv. **Revival of the agitation against Free-Trade :** a new phase of Imperialism.

1. The agitation was led by Mr. Chamberlain, who in September 1903 resigned his office as Colonial Secretary in order to be free to advocate 'colonial preference' and tariff-reform. It was vigorously opposed by the Liberals and many of the Unionists.

2. *Results :* (1) Resignation from the Cabinet of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Ritchie, and other Free-Trade Ministers. (2) A split within the Unionist party which lasted beyond the reign.

v. **A Royal Commission of Inquiry into the War Scandals, appointed 1905**—the sixth inquiry into the alleged maladministration of the late Boer war.

IV. *The Change of Administration in 1905.*

i. **Resignation of Mr. Balfour's Ministry, December 1905 :** owing to its unpopularity.

ii. **Accession to office of the Campbell-Bannerman Ministry (Liberal), December 1905.**

Chief members : Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman—Prime Minister and First Lord ; H. H. Asquith—Chancellor of Exchequer ; Sir Edward Grey—Foreign Secretary ; R. B. Haldane—War Secretary ; J. Morley—Indian Secretary ; D. Lloyd George—Board of Trade ; John Burns (the first working man to be a Cabinet Minister)—Local Government Board ; H. Gladstone—Home Secretary.

iii. **Results of the General Election in January 1906 :**

- (1) Return of an overwhelming Liberal majority over the Unionists.
(2) Rise of a *new* political party in the Commons—the **Labour Party**, consisting of bona-fide working-men representatives of the

organized labouring classes—elected for the purpose of looking after the special interests of those classes.

- iv. **Some Causes of the change of government :** (1) The adverse revelations made by the various inquiries into the administration of the late Boer war. (2) The tariff-reform agitation. (3) The agitations against the Education Act of 1902, the Licensing Act of 1904, and the continuance of Chinese labour in S. Africa. (4) The desire of the working-classes (now much better educated) to obtain social reforms in their own interests.

B. THE APPROACH TO ADULT DEMOCRACY UNDER THE LIBERAL MINISTRIES OF CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN AND ASQUITH, 1906-10.

I. Colonial Affairs, 1906-10.

- i. **In South Africa.** 1. The importation of Chinese labourers into the colonies stopped, 1906.
2. *Full self-government* granted to the *Transvaal*, 1906, with the Boer general, **Louis Botha**, as the first Prime Minister.
3. A similar government granted to the *Orange River Colony*, 1907.
Note.—A strong movement now set in in S. Africa for the federation of all the S. African colonies; and when first Cape Colony and then Natal joined the movement, the home government introduced a bill into Parliament to give it effect.
4. **The South African Federation Act passed, 1909.** By this Act Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and Orange River Colony were united into **The Union of South Africa** on lines similar (except in certain details) to those of the Canadian Dominion and the Australian Commonwealth, the act to come into force on May 31, 1910. *General Botha* became its first Premier. The Union Parliament meets at *Capetown*, the others being abolished.
- ii. **In Canada**—there was going on meanwhile a remarkable development of the western provinces as a great wheat-growing region; and immigration from Great Britain, eastern Canada, and United States rapidly increased its population.
- iii. **The Indian Councils Act, May 1909**—passed for India by the British Parliament. It was 'the most important legislative change in Indian government since the Act of 1858'. It gave to educated natives more scope in the civil service, and in the various provincial Legislative Councils.

II. Changes in the Ministry, April 1908.

- i. **Retirement of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman :** on account of ill-health. He died next month.
- ii. **Consequent changes in the Ministry (Liberal) :**
H. H. Asquith—Prime Minister and First Lord; *D. Lloyd George*—Chancellor of Exchequer; *Winston S. Churchill*—Board of Trade (later Home Secretary); *Lord Crewe*—Colonial Secretary; others mostly as before.

III. *Foreign Affairs, 1906-10.*

i. Various Revolutionary Movements for establishing National Governments.

1. *In Russia*: grant of a *Duma*, or National Parliament, and other reforms by the Czar in 1907—to appease the Russian revolutionary disorders begun in 1905.
2. *In Persia*: grant of a *National Council* by the Shah, 1906, as a result of a nationalist movement. It has proved only temporary owing to Russian influence.
3. *In Turkey*: a revolution, 1907-8, led by the 'Young Turk Party'. They deposed the Sultan, enthroned a successor, and established constitutional government. The first Turkish Parliament met December 1908.

ii. The Anglo-Russian Convention made 1907, by which:—1. Great Britain's influence was recognized as supreme in Afghanistan and Southern Persia;

2. Russian influence was recognized as supreme in Northern Persia; and
3. China's authority in Tibet was recognized by both countries.

iii. Anglo-German relations. These for some years before Queen Victoria's death had gradually become difficult through the keen rivalry resulting from Germany's rapid advance in manufactures and commerce; and were made still more difficult by German sympathy with the Boers. The efforts of King Edward VII (supported by his nephew, the Kaiser, and by the peace-parties in both countries) to restore the old Anglo-German friendliness, were marred (1) by the huge increase in the German navy, with the consequent necessary increase in that of Britain, and (2) by the widespread but groundless fear among the middle classes in both countries of a sudden attack by the fleets of the rival nation.

iv. Anglo-French relations. The 'Entente Cordiale', established in 1904, was greatly strengthened by the pacific efforts of King Edward, and by the approach to a **Triple Entente** between Great Britain, France, and Russia, after the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.

v. The Treaty of Algeciras (Spain) among the Great Powers, 1906: by which the future of **Morocco** was recognized as resting chiefly in the control of France and Spain.

IV. *Domestic Affairs, 1906-10.*

i. Attempts to remedy the Education Act of 1902. (1) By Mr. Birrell's Education Bill, 1906, which was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords; (2) by a second and a third bill, 1908, both of which were withdrawn because of resistance by the Upper House.

ii. **Rejection of a new Licensing Bill, 1904**, as well as other later measures, by the Lords.

iii. **Several important Acts** : which were passed by both Houses :—

- (1) *The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906* ; (2) Mr. Haldane's *Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907*—as part of a great scheme for reforming the Army ; (3) *The Old-Age Pensions Act, 1908*—which provided small pensions for all *deserving* people over 70 years old ; (4) *The Labour Exchanges Act, 1909*—to help in solving the problem of unemployment.

iv. **Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, 1909.** 1. Its *chief proposals* were :—

- (1) improved graduation of the income-tax ; (2) increased taxes on spirits and public-house licences ; (3) first taxation of the 'unearned increments' gained by those landowners having land near growing towns ; (4) a general valuation of land.
2. It passed the Commons after several months' debate ; but was rejected by the Lords until it should have been submitted to the judgement of the country.

V. *The Constitutional Crisis of 1910. Death of the King.*

i. **Causes of the Crisis** : the struggles between the Liberal government and the House of Lords over—(1) the claim of the latter to control the national finances (through the Budget), and (2) the rejection of some, and wrecking of other, measures of the government by the Lords.

ii. **The Government's appeal to the country**—by a general election, January 1910. Tariff-reform and Home Rule were made the chief counter-issues by the Unionists, and many seats were won by them in London and the home counties. *Result*: the return of the Liberals by a decreased majority (still about 130), including the Labour and Irish members.

iii. **The Budget passed by both Houses, February 1910.**

iv. **The proposals of the Government for reform of the House of Lords' veto** : debated from February onwards, but interrupted by

v. **The death of King Edward VII, May 6, 1910**—after a brief illness.

VI. *Chief Features of the Reign and Period.*

i. **Colonial.** 1. The rapid healing of the racial strife in South Africa by the grant of self-government to the two new colonies, and of federation to the whole group.

2. The reform of the Indian government, and especially the freer admission of the native element to a share in administration and legislation.

ii. **Foreign.** 1. The improved relations of Great Britain effected with France and Russia.

2. The deplorable increase of commercial and maritime rivalry and distrust between Great Britain and Germany.
 3. The great success of King Edward in his self-imposed task of Peacemaker in Europe.
 4. The rise of Japan as a first-class *world-power* through her victory over Russia.
 5. The remarkable beginning of *national* forms of government in Russia, Persia, and Turkey.
 6. The increased spread of nationalism in and beyond Europe, and, based upon it, the rise of a so-called *internationalism* among the working classes of the older countries of Europe (see *Footnote*).
- iii. **Domestic.**
1. The advance made by the Education Act of 1902 towards a uniform, national system of education.
 2. The anti-Free Trade movement begun in 1903, followed by the renewal of party strife over the policy of Protection and Tariff-reform.
 3. The social and financial reforms of the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith ministries, notably the Old-Age Pensions Act, and the Finance Act of 1909.
 4. The constitutional crisis of 1909-10, and the Liberal proposals for reforming the House of Lords.
 5. The general advance of the democratic movement, shown in : (1) the general zeal for the improvement of the lot of the working-classes, (2) the political organization of Labour, and (3) the return to Parliament, *for the first time in English history, of a Labour party*.
 6. The consequent, evident approach of the nation towards *Adult Democracy*, that is, a democracy, or popular rule, in which the whole manhood (and probably womanhood) of the nation seems destined to have a controlling voice in the country's government and affairs.

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